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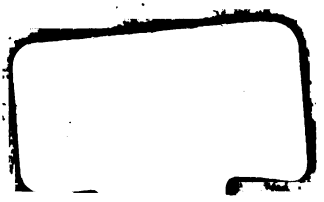

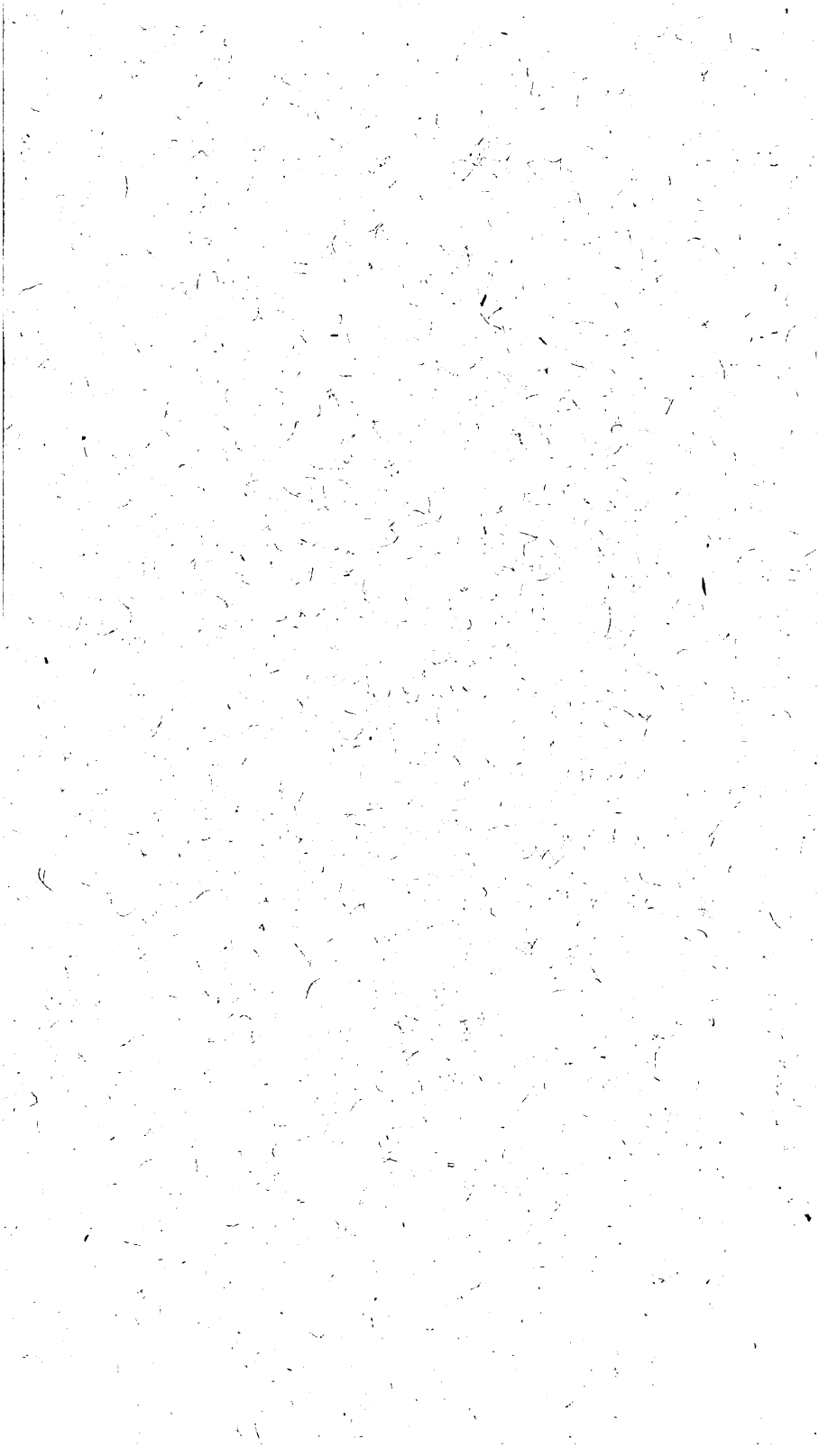

THE

WORKS

OF

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE,

BART.

COMPLETE.

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CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED.

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CONTENTS

OF

VOLUME THE THIRD.

An essay upon the advancement of trade in Ireland . . . . . page 1—28
Of popular discontents . . . . . 29—65
An introduction to the history of England 67—201
Of gardening . . . . . 202—245
An essay upon the cure of the gout by moxa . . . . . 246—273
Of health and long life . . . . . 274—312
Of heroic virtue . . . . . 313—405
Of poetry . . . . . 406—443
An essay upon ancient and modern learning . . . . . 444—486
Thoughts upon reviewing that essay . 487—518
Of the excesses of grief . . . . . 519—530
Of the different conditions of life and fortune . . . . . 531—540
Heads of an essay on conversation . . 541—548

Poetry.

Virgil's last eclogue . . . page 549
Horace, Lib. iv. *Ode* 7. 551
Lib. i. *Ode* 13. 552
Upon the approach of the shore at Harwich 553
Horace, Lib. iii. *Ode* 29. . . . 555
Lib. i. *Ep.* 2. 559
Tibullus, Lib. iv. *El.* 2. . . . . *ibid*

AN

ESSAY

UPON THE

ADVANCEMENT OF TRADE

IN

IRELAND.

Written to the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom.

My Lord, Dublin, July 22, 1673.

I KNOW not what it was that fell into discourse the other day, and gave your Excellency the occasion of desiring me to digest into some method, and upon paper, the means and ways I esteemed most proper for the advancing of trade in Ireland: this I know very well, that you did it in a manner, and with expressions too obliging to be refused, and out of a design so public and generous, as ought not to be discouraged. I had therefore much rather obey your Lordship in this point, how ill soever I do it, than excuse myself, though never so well, which were much easier than the other. For I might alledge, that neither my birth nor my breeding has been at all in this country: that I have passed only one short period of my life here, and the greatest part thereof wholly out of business and public thoughts: that I have since been ten years absent from it, and am now here upon no other occasion than of a short visit to some of my friends; which are all circumstances that make

me a very improper subject for such a command. But I suppose the vein I have had of running into speculations of this kind upon a greater scene of trade, and in a country where I was more a stranger; and the too partial favour your Lordship has expressed to another discourse of this nature, have cost me this present service; and you have thought fit to punish me for one folly, by engaging me to commit another; like the confessor, that prescribed a drunkard the penance of being drunk again. However it is, your Lordship shall be obeyed, and therein I hope to be enough excused; which is all I pretend to upon this occasion.

Before I enter upon the considerations of trade, which are more general, and may be more lasting in this kingdom, I will observe to your Lordship some particular circumstances in the constitution and government, which have been hitherto, and may be long, the great discouragers of trade and riches here; and some others in the present conjuncture, which are absolutely mortal to it: and so you may not expect to find remedies where indeed there are none, nor suffer men, like busy ignorant physicians, to apply such as are contrary to the disease, because they cannot find such as are proper for it.

The true and natural ground of trade and riches is number of people in proportion to the compass of ground they inhabit. This makes all things necessary to life dear, and that forces men to industry and parsimony. These customs, which grow first from necessity, come with time to be habitual to a country. And where-ever they are so, that place must grow great in traffic and riches, if not disturbed by some accidents or revolutions, as of wars, of plagues, or famines, by which the people come to be either scattered or destroyed.

People are multiplied in a country by the tem-

per of the climate, favourable to generation, to health, and long life; or else by the circumstances of safety and ease under the government, the credit whereof invites men over to it, when they cannot be either safe or easy at home. When things are once in motion, trade begets trade, as fire does fire; and people go much where much people are already gone. So men run still to a crowd where they see it in the streets, or the fields, though it be only to do as others do, to see or to be entertained.

The want of trade in Ireland proceeds from the want of people; and this is not grown from any ill qualities of the climate or air, but chiefly from the frequent revolutions of so many wars and rebellions, so great slaughters and calamities of mankind, as have at several intervals of time succeeded the first conquest of this kingdom in Henry the II.'s time, until the year 1653. Two very great plagues followed the two great wars, those of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and the last; which helped to drain the current stream of generation in the country.

The discredit which is grown upon the constitutions or settlements of this kingdom, by so frequent and unhappy revolutions that for many ages have infested it, has been the great discouragement to other nations to transplant themselves hither, and prevailed farther than all the invitations which the cheapness and plenty of the country has made them. So that, had it not been for the numbers of the British, which the necessity of the late wars at first drew over, and of such who either as adventurers or soldiers seated themselves here upon account of the satisfaction made to them in land, the country had by the last war and plague been left in a manner desolate.

Besides, the subordinacy of the government

changing hands so often makes an unsteadiness in the pursuit of the publick interests of the kingdom, gives way to the emulations of the different factions, and draws the favour or countenance of the government sometimes to one party or interest, sometimes to another: this makes different motions in men's minds, raising hopes and fears, and opinions of uncertainty in their possessions; and thereby in the peace of the country.

This subordinacy in the government, and emulation of parties, with the want sometimes of authority in the governor (by the weakness of his credit and support at Court) occasions the perpetual agencies or journeys into England of all persons that have any considerable pretences in Ireland, and money to pursue them; which end many times in long abodes, and frequent habituating of families there, though they have no money to support them, but what is drawn out of Ireland. Besides, the young gentlemen go of course for their breeding there; some seek their health, and others their entertainment in a better climate or scene: by these means the country loses the expence of many of the richest persons or families at home, and mighty sums of money must needs go over from hence into England, which the great stock of rich native commodities here can make the only amends for.

These circumstances, so prejudicial to the increase of trade and riches in a country, seem natural, or at least have ever been incident, to the government here; and without them, the native fertility of the soil and seas in so many rich commodities, improved by multitude of people and industry, with the advantage of so many excellent havens, and a situation so commodious for all sorts of foreign trade, must needs have rendered this kingdom one of the richest in Europe, and made a

mighty increase both of strength and revenue to the Crown of England; whereas it has hitherto been rather esteemed and found to be our weak-side, and to have cost us more blood and treasure than it is worth.

Since my late arrival in Ireland, I have found a very unusual, but, I doubt, very just complaint concerning the scarcity of money; which occasioned many airy propositions for the remedy of it, and among the rest that of raising some, or all of the coins here. This was chiefly grounded upon the experience made, as they say, about the Duke of Ormond's coming first over hither in 1663, when the plate-pieces of eight were raised three pence in the piece, and a mighty plenty of money was observed to grow in Ireland for a year or two after. But this seems to me a very mistaken account, and to have depended wholly upon other circumstances little taken notice of, and not at all upon the raising of the money, to which it is by some great men attributed. For first, there was about that time a general peace and serenity, which had newly succeeded a general trouble and cloud throughout all his Majesty's kingdoms; then after two years attendance in England, upon the settlement of Ireland (there on the forge) by all persons and parties here that were considerably interested in it, the Parliament being called here, and the main settlement of Ireland wound up in England, and put into the Duke of Ormond's hands to pass here into an act; all persons came over in a shoal, either to attend their own concernments in the main, or more particularly to make their court to the Lord Lieutenant, upon whom his Majesty had at that time in a manner wholly devolved the care and disposition of all affairs in this kingdom. This made a sudden and mighty stop of that issue of money which had for two years run perpetually

out of Ireland into England, and kept it all at home. Nor is the very expence of the Duke of Ormond's own great patrimonial estate, with that of several other families that came over at that time, of small consideration in the stock of this kingdom. Besides, there was a great sum of money in ready coin brought over out of England at the same time, towards the arrears of the army; which are all circumstances that must needs have made a mighty change in the course of ready money here. All the effect, that I conceive was made by crying up the pieces of eight, was to bring in much more of that species instead of others current here (as indeed all the money brought from England was of that sort, and complained of in Parliament to be of a worse allay) and to carry away much English money in exchange for plate-pieces; by which a trade was driven very beneficial to the traders, but of mighty loss to the kingdom in the intrinsic value of their money.

The circumstances at this time seem to be just the reverse of what they were then: the nation is engaged in a war the most fatal to trade of any that could arise: the settlement of Ireland shaken at the Court, and falling into new disquisitions (whether in truth, or in common opinion, is all a case): this draws continual agencies and journeys of people concerned into England, to watch the motions of the main wheel there. Besides, the Lieutenants of Ireland, since the Duke of Ormond's time, have had little in their disposition here, and only executed the resolutions daily taken at Court in particular as well as general affairs; which has drawn thither the attendance of all private pretenders. The great estates of this kingdom have been four or five years constantly spent in England. Money, instead of coming over hither for pay of the army, has, since the war began,

been transmitted thither for pay of those forces that were called from hence. And lastly, this war has had a more particular and mortal influence upon the trade of this country, than upon any other of his Majesty's kingdoms.

For by the act against transportation of cattle into England, the trade of this country, which ran wholly thither before, was turned very much into foreign parts; but by this war the last is stopped, and, the other not being opened, there is in a manner no vent for any commodity but of wool. This necessity has forced the kingdom to go on still with their foreign trade; but that has been with such mighty losses by the great number of Dutch privateers plying about the coasts, and the want of English frigates to secure them, that the stock of the kingdom must be extremely diminished. Yet, by the continuance of the same expence and luxury in point of living, money goes over into England to fetch what must supply it, though little commodities go, either there or abroad, to make any considerable balance: by all which it must happen, that with another year's continuance of the war, there will hardly be money left in this kingdom to turn the common markets, or pay any rents, or leave any circulation, further than the receipts of the customs and quit-rents, and the pays of the army, which in both kinds must be the last that fail.

In such a conjuncture, the crying up of any species of money will but increase the want of it in general; for while there goes not out commodity to balance that which is brought in (and no degree of gains by exportation will make amends for the venture) what should money come in for, unless it be to carry out other money as it did before, and leave the stock that remains equal indeed in denomination, but lower in the intrinsic value than it

was before? In short, while this war lasts, and our seas are ill-guarded, all that can be done towards preserving the small remainder of money in this kingdom is, first, to introduce, as far as can be, a vein of parsimony throughout the country in all things that are not perfectly the native growths and manufactures: then by severity and steadiness of the government (as far as will be permitted) to keep up in some credit the present peace and settlement: and lastly, to force men to a degree of industry, by suffering none to hope that they shall be able to live by rapine or fraud. For, in some diseases of a civil as well as a natural body, all that can be done is to fast and to rest, to watch and to prevent accidents, to trust to methods rather than medicines or remedies; and with patience to expect till the humours being spent, and the crisis past, way may be made for the natural returns of health and of strength.

This being premised as peculiar either to the government in general, or to the present conjuncture; I shall proceed to such observations as occur concerning the ways of advancing the common and standing trade of this kingdom.

The trade of a country arises from the native growths of the soil or seas; the manufactures, the commodiousness of ports, and the store of shipping which belong to it. The improvement therefore of trade in Ireland must be considered in the survey of all these particulars, the defects to which at present they are subject, and the increases they are capable of receiving either from the course of time, the change of customs, or the conduct and application of the government.

The native commodities or common easy manufactures which make up the exportation of this kingdom, and consequently furnish both the stock of foreign commodities consumed in the country,

and that likewise of current money, by which all trade is turned, are wool, butter, beef, cattle, fish, iron; and by the improvement of these, either in the quantity, the credit, or the further manufacture, the trade of Ireland seems chiefly to be advanced.

In this survey one thing must be taken notice of as peculiar to this country, which is, that, as in the nature of its government, so, in the very improvement of its trade and riches, it ought to be considered not only in its own proper interest, but likewise in its relation to England, to which it is subordinate, and upon whose weal in the main that of this kingdom depends; and therefore a regard must be had of those points wherein the trade of Ireland comes to interfere with any main branches of the trade of England; in which cases the encouragement of such trade ought to be either declined or moderated, and so give way to the interest of trade in England, upon the health and vigour whereof the strength, riches, and glory of his Majesty's crowns seem chiefly to depend. But, on the other side, some such branches of trade ought not wholly to be suppressed, but rather so far admitted as may serve the general consumption of this kingdom; lest by too great an importation of commodities, though out of England itself, the money of this kingdom happen to be drawn away in such a degree, as not to leave a stock sufficient for turning the trade at home: the effect hereof would be general discontents among the people; complaints, or at least ill impressions, of the government; which in a country composed of three several nations different to a great degree in language, customs, and religion, as well as interests (both of property and dependences) may prove not only dangerous to this kingdom, but to England itself. Since a sore in the leg may affect the body, and in time grow as

difficult to cure as if it were in the head; especially where humours abound.

The wool of Ireland seems not to be capable of any increase, nor to suffer under any defect, the country being generally full stocked with sheep, cleared of wolves, the soil little subject to other rots than of hunger; and all the considerable flocks being of English breed, and the staple of wool generally equal with that of Northampton or Leicestershire, the improvement of this commodity by manufactures in this kingdom would give so great a damp to the trade of England (of which cloths, stuffs, and stockings make so mighty a part) that it seems not fit to be encouraged here; at least no further than to such a quantity of one or two summer-stuffs, Irish freeze, and cloth from six shillings to fourteen, as may supply, in some measure, the ordinary consumption of the kingdom. That which seems most necessary in this branch is the careful and severe execution of the statutes provided to forbid the exportation of wool to any other parts but to England; which is the more to be watched and feared, since thereby the present riches of this kingdom would be mightily increased, and great advantages might be made by the connivance of governors; whereas, on the other side, this would prove a most sensible decay, if not destruction, of manufactures both here and in England itself.

Yarn is a commodity very proper to this country, but made in no great quantities in any parts besides the north, nor any where into linen to any great degree, or of sorts fit for the better uses at home, or exportation abroad; though, of all others, this ought most to be encouraged, and was therefore chiefly designed by the Earl of Strafford. The soil produces flax kindly and well, and fine too, answerable to the care used in choice of seed and exercise of husbandry; and much land is fit for it here,

which is not so for corn. The manufacture of it, in gathering or beating, is of little toil or application, and so the fitter for the natives of the country. Besides, no women are apter to spin it well than the Irish, who labouring little in any kind with their hands, have their fingers more supple and soft than other women of the poorer condition among us: and this may certainly be advanced and improved into a great manufacture of linen, so as to beat down the trade both of France and Holland, and draw much of the money, which goes from England to those parts upon this occasion, into the hands of his Majesty's subjects of Ireland, without crossing any interest of trade in England. For, besides what has been said of flax and spinning, the soil and climate are proper for whitening, both by the frequency of brooks and also of winds in the country.

Much care was spent upon this design in an act of Parliament passed the last session, and something may have been advanced by it; but the too great rigour imposed upon the sowing of certain quantities of flax has caused (and perhaps justly) a general neglect in the execution, and common guilt has made the penalties impracticable; so as the main effect has been spoiled by too much diligence, and the child killed with kindness. For the money applied by that act to the encouragement of making fine linen, and broad, (which I think is twenty pounds every year in each county) though the institution was good, yet it has not reached the end, by encouraging any considerable application that way; so that sometimes one share of that money is paid to a single pretender at the assizes or sessions, and sometimes a share is saved, for want of any pretender at all.

This trade may be advanced by some amendments to the last act in another session, whereby

the necessity of sowing flax may be so limited, as to be made easily practicable, and so may be forced by the severity of levying the penalties enacted. And for the money allotted in the counties, no person ought to carry the first, second, or third prize, without producing two pieces of linen of each sort, whereas one only now is necessary: and severe defences may be made against weaving any linen under a certain breadth, such as may be of better use to the poorest people, and in the coarsest linen, than the narrow Irish cloth, and may bear some price abroad, whenever more comes to be made than is consumed at home. But, after all these, or such like provisions, there are but two things which can make any extraordinary advance in this branch of trade, and those are: first, an increase of people in the country to such a degree, as may make things necessary to life dear, and thereby force general industry from each member of a family (women as well as men), and in as many sorts as they can well turn to, which, among others, may in time come to turn the vein this way. The second is a particular application in the government. And this must be made either by some governor upon his own private account, who has a great stock that he is content to turn that way, and is invited by the gain, or else by the honour of bringing to pass a work of so much public utility both to England and Ireland, which circumstances I suppose concurred both in the Earl of Strafford's design; and, whenever they meet again, can have no better copy to follow in all particulars, than that begun at the Naas in his time. Or else by a considerable sum of money being laid aside, either out of his Majesty's present revenue, or some future subsidy to be granted for this occasion: and this either to be employed in setting up of some great linen manufacture in some certain place, and to be

managed by some certain hands both for making all sorts of fine cloths, and of those for sails too; the benefit or loss of such a trade accruing to the government until it comes to take root in the nation. Or else if this seem too great an undertaking for the humour of our age, then such a sum of money to lie ready in hands appointed by the government, for taking off at common moderate prices all such pieces of cloth as shall be brought in by any persons at certain times to the chief town of each county; and all such pieces of cloth, as are fit for sails, to be carried into the stores of the navy. All, that are fit for the use of the army, to be given the soldiers (as cloaths are) in part of their pay: and all finer pieces to be sold, and the money still applied to the increase or constant supply of the main stock. The effect hereof would be, that people finding a certain market for this commodity, and that of others, so uncertain as it is in this kingdom, would turn so much of their industry this way as would serve to furnish a great part of that money which is most absolutely necessary for payment of taxes, rents, or subsistence of families.

Hide, tallow, butter, beef, arise all from one sort of cattle, and are subject to the same general defects, and capable of the same common improvements.

The three first are certain commodities, and yield the readiest money of any that are turned in this kingdom, because they never fail of a price abroad. Beef is a drug, finding no constant vent abroad, and therefore yielding no rate at home: for the consumption of the kingdom holds no proportion with the product that is usually made of cattle in it; so that in many parts at this time an ox may be bought in the country-markets, and the hide and tallow sold at the next trading town for near as much as it cost. The defects of these com-

modities lie either in the age and feeding of the cattle that are killed, or in the manufacture, and making them up for exportation abroad.

Until the transportation of cattle into England was forbidden by the late act of parliament, the quickest trade of ready money here was driven by the sale of young bullocks, which for four or five summer-months of the year were carried over in very great numbers; and this made all the breeders in the kingdom turn their lands and stocks chiefly to that sort of cattle. Few cows were bred up for the dairy, more than served the consumption within; and few oxen for draught, which was all performed by rascally small horses; so as the cattle generally sold either for slaughter within, or exportation abroad, were of two, three, or at best four years old, and those such as had never been either hamlled or wintered at hand-meat, but bred wholly upon the mountains in summer, and upon the withered long grass of the lower lands in the winter. The effect hereof was very pernicious to this kingdom in what concerned all these commodities; the hides were small, thin, and lank; the tallow much less in quantity, and of quicker consumption. Little butter was exported abroad, and that discredited by the housewifery of the Irish in making it up; most of what was sent coming from their hands, who alone kept up the trade of dairies, because the breed of their cattle was not fit for the English markets. But above all, the trade of beef for foreign exportation was prejudiced and almost sunk. For the flesh being young, and only grass-fed, (and that on a sudden by the sweetness of the summer's pasture, after the cattle being almost starved in the winter) was thin, light, and moist, and not of a substance to endure the salt, or be preserved by it for long voyages, or a slow consumption. Besides, either the unskil-

fulness, or carelessness, or knavery of the traders, added much to the under-value and discredit of these commodities abroad; for the hides were often made up very dirty, which increased the weight, by which that commodity is sold when it comes in quantities abroad. The butter would be better on the top and bottom of the barrel, than in the middle, which would be sometimes filled up, or mingled with tallow; nay, sometimes with stones. The beef would be so ill chosen, or so ill cured, as to stink many times before it came so far as Holland, or at least not prove a commodity that would defray the first charge of the merchant before it was shipped. Nay, I have known merchants there fain to throw away great quantities, after having lain long on their hands without any market at all.

After the act in England had wholly stopped the transportation of cattle, the trade of this kingdom was forced to find out a new channel; a great deal of land was turned to sheep, because wool gave ready money for the English markets, and by stealth for those abroad. The breeders of English cattle turned much to dairy, or else by keeping their cattle to six and seven years old, and wintering them dry, made them fit for the beef-trade abroad; and some of the merchants fell into care and exactness in barrelling them up; and hereby the improvements of this trade were grown so sensible in the course of a few years, that in the year 1669 some merchants in Holland assured me, that they had received parcels of beef out of Ireland which sold current, and very near the English; and of butter which sold beyond it; and that they had observed it spent as if it came from the richer soil of the two. It is most evident, that, if the Dutch war had not broken out too soon after the improvements of all these trades (forced at first by

necessity, and growing afterwards habitual by use) a few years would have very much advanced the trade and riches of this kingdom, and made it a great gainer, instead of losing by the act against transportation of their cattle: but the war gave a sudden damp to this and all other trade, which is sunk to nothing by the continuance of it.

However, having marked the defects that were even in time of peace, it may not be useless to set down the remedies, though little practicable while the war lasts. For that great one of killing cattle young, and only grass-fed, I know none so effectual as introducing a general custom of using oxen for all sorts of draught, which would be perhaps the greatest improvement that could be made in many kinds throughout the kingdom. By this means the great slaughter would be make of full-grown, large, and well wintered cattle, which would double the income made by hide, tallow, and beef, and raise their credit in all foreign markets; every man would be forced to provide winter-fodder for his team (whereas common garrans shift upon grass the year round;) and this would force men to the inclosing of grounds, and improving bog into meadows; the race of garrans would decrease, and so make room for the country's maintaining the greater number of cattle, which makes a foreign commodity, though they die by accident or age; whereas the other makes none at all.

No great or useful thing is to be atchieved without difficulties; and therefore what may be raised against this proposal, ought not to discourage the attempting it. First, the statutes against that barbarous custom of plowing by the tail ought to be renewed, and upon absolute forfeitures instead of penalties; the constant and easy compositions whereof have proved rather an allowing than forbidding it. Now if this were wholly disused, the

harness for horses being dearer than for oxen, the Irish would turn their draught to the last, whereever they have hitherto used the plowing by the tail. Next, a standard might be made, under which no horse should be used for draught; this would not only enlarge the breed of horses, but make way for the use of oxen, because they would be cheaper kept than large good horses, which could not be wintered like garrans, without housing or fodder. And lastly, a tax might be laid upon every horse of draught throughout the kingdom; which, besides the main use here intended, would increase the King's revenue by one of the easiest ways that is any where in use.

For the miscarriages mentioned in the making up of those several commodities for foreign markets, they must likewise be remedied by severe laws, or else the improvements of the commodities themselves will not serve to bring them in credit, upon which all trade turns. First, the ports, out of which such commodities shall be shipped, may be restrained to a certain number, such as lie most convenient for the vent of the inland provinces, and such as either are already, or are capable of being made, regular corporations. Whatever of them shall be carried out of any other port shall be penal, both to the merchant that delivers, and to the master that receives them. In the ports allowed shall be published rules agreed on by the skilfullest merchants in those wares, to be observed in the making up of all such as are intended for foreign transportation, and declaring that what is not found agreeable to those rules shall not be suffered to go out. Two officers may be appointed to be chosen every three years, by the body of the corporation, whose business shall be to inspect all barrels of beef, tallow, butter, and all packs of hides, and put to them the seal or mark of the corporation, without

which none shall be suffered to go abroad; nor shall this mark be affixed to any parcels by those officers, but such as they have viewed, and found agreeable to the rules set forth for that purpose; whereof one ought to be certain, that every barrel be of the same constant weight, or something over. If this were observed for a small course of time, under any certain marks, the credit of them, both as to quality and weight, would rise to that degree, that the barrels or packs would go off in the markets they used abroad, upon sight of the mark, like silver-plate upon sight of the city's mark where it is made.

The great difficulty will lie in the good execution of the offices; but the interest of such corporations, lying so deep in the credit of their mark, will make emulation among them, every one vying to raise their own as high as they can; and this will make them careful in the choice of men fit for that turn. Besides, the offices ought to be made beneficial to a good degree, by a certain fee upon every seal; and yet the office to be forfeited upon every miscarriage of the officer, which shall be judged so by the chief magistrates of the town, and thereupon a new election be made by the body of the corporation.

Cattle for exportation are sheep, bullocks, horses; and of one or other of these kinds the country seems to be full stocked, no ground that I hear of being untenanted: the two first seem sufficiently improved in the kinds as well as the number, most of both being of the English breed. And though it were better for the country, if the number of horses being lessened made room for that of increasing sheep, and great cattle; yet it seems indifferent which of these two were most turned to, and that will be regulated by the liberty or restraint of carrying live cattle into England. When the

passage is open, land will be turned most to great cattle; when shut, to sheep, as it is at present; though I am not of opinion it can last, because that act seems to have been carried on rather by the interests of particular counties in England, than by that of the whole, which in my opinion must be evidently a loser by it. For first, the freight of all cattle that were brought over, being in English vessels, was so much clear gain to England; and this was one with another near a third, or at least a fourth part of the price. Then their coming over young and very cheap to the first market, made them double the price by one year's feeding, which was the greatest improvement to be made of our dry pasture-land in England. The trade of hides, and tallow, or else of leather, was mightily advanced in England, which will be beaten down in foreign markets by Ireland, if they come to kill all their cattle at home. The young Irish cattle served for the common consumption in England, while their own large old fat cattle went into the barrel for the foreign trade, in which Irish beef had in a manner no part, though by the continuance of this restraint it will be forced upon improvement, and come to share with England in the beef-trade abroad. Grounds were turned much in England from breeding, either to feeding or dairy, and this advanced the trade of English butter, which will be extremely beaten down when Ireland turns to it too (and in the way of English housewifery, as it has done a great deal since the restraint upon cattle). And lastly, whereas Ireland had before very little trade but with England, and with the money for their cattle bought all the commodities there which they wanted; by this restraint they are forced to seek a foreign market; and where they sell, they will be sure to buy too; and all the foreign merchandize which they had before from

Bristol, Chester, and London, they will have in time from Roan, Amsterdam, Lisbon, and the Straits. As for the true causes of the decay of rents in England, which made the occasion of that act, they were to be found in the want of people, in the mighty consumption of foreign commodities among the better sort, and in a higher way of living among all, and not in this transportation of Irish cattle, which would have been complained of in former times, if it had been found a prejudice to England. Besides, the rents have been far from increasing since; and though that may be by other accidents, yet, as to what concerns Ireland, it comes all to one, unless wool be forbidden as well as cattle; for the less cattle comes over from thence, there comes the more wool, which goes as far as the other towards beating down the price of pasture-lands in England; and yet the transportation of wool cannot be forbidden, since that would force the Irish wool, either by stealth into foreign markets, or else in cloth by the advance of that manufacture; either of which would bring a sudden decay upon the principal branch of the English trade.

Horses in Ireland are a drug, but might be improved to a commodity, not only of a greater use at home, but also fit for exportation into other countries. The soil is of a sweet and plentiful grass, which will raise a large breed; and the hills, especially near the sea-coasts, are hard and rough, and so fit to give them shape, and breath, and sound feet. The present defects in them are breeding without choice of stallions either in shape or size, and trusting so far to the gentleness of the climate, as to winter them abroad, without ever handling colts till they are four years old: this both checks the growth of the common breeds, and gives them an incurable shyness, which is the ge-

neral vice of Irish horses, and is hardly ever seen in Flanders, because the hardness of the winters in those parts forces the breeders there to house and handle their colts for at least six months every year. In the studs of persons of quality in Ireland, where care is taken, and cost is not spared, we see horses bred of excellent shape, and vigour, and size, so as to reach great prices at home, and encourage strangers to find the market here; among whom I met with one this summer that came over on that errand, and bought about twenty horses to carry over into the French army, from twenty to three-score pounds price at the first hand.

The improvement of horses here may be made by a standard prescribed to all stallions, and all horses that shall be used for draught; the main point being to make the common breed large, for then, whether they have shape or no, they have ever some reasonable price both at home and abroad. And besides, being not to be raised without wintering, they will help to force men into improvement of land by a necessity of fodder. But for encouragement of finer breed, and in the better hands, some other institutions may be invented, by which emulation may be raised among the breeders by a prospect both of particular honour and profit to those who succeed best, and of good ordinary gains and ready vent to such as by aiming at the best, though they fail, yet go beyond the common sorts. To this purpose there may be set up both a horse-fair, and races to be held at a certain time every year for the space of a week; the first in the fairest green near the city of Dublin, the latter in that place designed by your Lordship in the park for some such purpose. During this week, the Monday, Wednesday, and Friday may be the races: the Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday the fairs may be held. At each race may be two plates given by

the King, one of thirty pounds, and the other of twenty (besides the fashion) as the prizes for the first and second horse; the first engraven with a horse crowned with a crown; the second with a coronet, and under it the day of the month, and the year. Besides these plates, the wagers may be as the persons please among themselves, but the horses must be evidenced by good testimonies to have been bred in Ireland. For honour, the Lord-Lieutenant may ever be present himself, or at least name a deputy, in his room, and two judges of the field, who shall decide all controversies, and with sound of the trumpet declare the two victors. The masters of these two horses may be admitted to ride from the field to the castle with the Lord-Lieutenant, or his deputy, and to dine with him that day, and there receive all the honour of the table. This to be done, what quality soever the persons are of; for, the lower that is, the more will be the honour, and perhaps the more the sport; and the encouragement of breeding will by that means extend to all sorts of men.

For the fairs, the Lord-Lieutenant may likewise be present every day in the height of them, by himself or deputy, and may, with the advice of the two chief officers of the army then present, chuse out one of the best horses, and two of the best geldings that appear in the fair, not under four, nor above seven years old; for which shall be paid to the owners of them, after sufficient testimony of their being bred in Ireland, one hundred pounds for the horse, and fifty pounds a-piece for the geldings. These sums, as that for the plates, to issue out of the revenue of Ireland, and without trouble or fee; and the three horses to be sent over every year to the King's stables. Both those that win the plate, and those which are thus sold, ought immediately to be marked, so as they may never

return a second time, either to the race, or to the sale.

The benefit, by such an institution as this, will be very great and various: for besides the encouragement to breed the best horses, from the honour and gain already mentioned, there will be a sort of public entertainment for one whole week, during which the Lord-Lieutenant, the Lord-Mayor of the city, and the great officers both civil and military, ought to keep open tables for all strangers. This will draw a confluence of people from all parts of the country. Many perhaps from the nearer parts of England may come, not only as to a public kind of solemnity, but as to a great mart of the best horses. This will enrich the city by the expence of such a concourse, and the country by the sale of many horses into England, and in time (or from thence) into foreign parts. This will make general acquaintances among the gentry of the kingdom, and bring the Lord-Lieutenant to be more personally known, and more honoured by his appearing in more greatness, and with more solemnity than usual upon these occasions. And all this with the expence only of two hundred and fifty pounds a-year to the Crown, for which the King shall have the three best horses sold that year in Ireland.

The fishing of Ireland might prove a mine under water, as rich as any under ground, if it were improved to those vast advantages it is capable of, and that we see it raised to in other countries. But this is impossible under so great a want of people, and cheapness of all things necessary to life throughout the country, which are in all places invincible enemies of industry and improvements. While these continue, I know no way of advancing this trade to any considerable degree, unless it be the erecting four companies of fishery, one of each province of Ireland, into which every man that

enters shall bring a certain capital, and receive a proportionable share of the gain or loss, and have a proportional voice in the election of a president and council, by whom the whole business in each province shall be managed. If into each of these companies the King or Lord-Lieutenant would enter for a considerable share at the first, towards building such a number of boats and busses as each company could easily manage, it would be an encouragement both of honour and advantage. Certain privileges likewise, or immunities, might be granted from charges of trouble or expence, nay, from taxes, and all unusual payments to the public, in favour of such as brought in a proportion to a certain height into the stock of the fishery. Nay, it seems a matter of so great importance to his Majesty's Crowns, both as to the improving the riches of this kingdom, and impairing the mighty gains of his neighbours by this trade, that perhaps there were no hurt if an act were made, by which none should be capable of being either chosen into a parliament, or the commission of the peace, who had not manifested his desires of advancing the public good by entering in some certain proportion into the stock and companies of the fishery; since the greatness of the one, and application of the other, seem the only present means of improving so rich and so important a trade. It will afterwards be the business of the companies themselves, or their directors, to fall into the best methods and rules for the curing and barrelling up all their fish, and to see them so exactly observed, as may bring all those quantities of them that shall be sent abroad, or spent at home, into the highest and most general credit; which, with advancing the seasons all that can be, so as to find the first foreign markets, will be a way to the greatest and surest gains. In Holland, there have been above thirty placarts, or acts

of State, concerning the curing, salting, and barrelling of herrings alone, with such severity in the imposition and execution of penalties, that the busines is now grown to an habitual skill, and care, and honesty, so as hardly any example is seen of failing in that matter, or thereby impairing the general credit of that commodity among them, or in the foreign markets they use.

Iron seems to me the manufacture that, of all others, ought the least to be encouraged in Ireland; or, if it be, which requires the most restriction to certain places and rules. For I do not remember to have heard that there is any ore in Ireland, at least I am sure the greatest part is fetched from England; so that all this country affords of its own growth towards this manufacture, is but the wood, which has met but with too great consumptions already in most parts of this kingdom, and needs not this to destroy what is left. So that ironworks ought to be confined to certain places, where either the woods continue vast, and make the country savage; or where they are not at all fit for timber, or likely to grow to it; or where there is no conveyance for timber to places of vent, so as to quit the cost of the carriage.

Having run through the commodities of Ireland, with their defects and improvements, I will only touch the other two points mentioned at first, as the grounds likewise of trade in a country; those are the commodiousness of ports, and the store of shipping; in one of which this kingdom as much abounds, as it fails in the other. The haven of Dublin is barred to that degree, as very much to obstruct the trade of the city; the clearing or opening of it is a great work, and proper either for the city, or the whole province of Lemster to undertake. But whether it be feasible, or at such charges as will quit cost, I will not judge, especially con-

sidering the many good havens that are scattered upon that whole eastern coast of Ireland. Besides, this, I know not what to propose upon this head, unless it be the making of two free ports, one in Kerry, and the other upon the north-west coast, which may thereby grow to be magazines for the West-India trade, and from thence those commodities may be dispersed unto all other parts of Europe, after having paid the customs which they ought to pay in England, where this must be concerted.

For the last point, I doubt there is hardly any other country lying upon the sea-coast, and not wholly out of the way of trade, which has so little shipping of its own as Ireland, and which might be capable of employing more. The reason of this must be in part the scarcity of timber proper for this built; but more the want of merchants, and uncertainty of trade in the country. For preventing the further destruction of timber, a law may be made, forbidding any man to cut down any oak that is of a certain height, unless it be of a certain scantling, as twelve inches diameter, or some such measures as usually make a tree useful timber. And further, the severest penalties ought to be put upon barking any tree that is not felled; a custom barbarous, and peculiar to this country, and by which infinite quantities of timber have been destroyed.

Most traders in these parts, at least of Ireland, are but factors; nor do I hear of any number of merchants in the kingdom. The cause of this must be rather an ill opinion of security, than of gain; for those are the two baits which draw merchants to a place; the last entices the poorer traders, or the young beginners, or those of passage; but, without the first, the substantial and the rich will never settle in a country. This opinion can be at-

tained only by a course of time, of good conduct, and good government, and thereby of justice and of peace, which lie out of the compass of this discourse. But, to make some amends for this want at present, encouragement may be given to any merchants that shall come over and turn a certain stock of their own here, as naturalization upon any terms; freedom from customs the two first years, and from any offices of trouble or expence the first seven years. I see no hurt, if the King should give leave to the merchants in eight or ten of the chief trading-ports of Ireland, to name for each town one of their number, out of which the Lord-Lieutenant should chuse two to be of the Privy-council of Ireland, with a certain salary from the King to defray their attendance: this would be an honour and encouragement to so worthy a calling, and would introduce an interest of trade into the council, which being now composed wholly of the Nobility or Gentry, the civil or military officers; the traders seem to be left without patrons in the government, and thereby without favour to the particular concernments of a chief member in the politic body; and upon whose prospering the wealth of the whole kingdom seems chiefly to depend.

But this is enough for your Excellency's trouble, and for the discharge of my promise, and too much, I doubt, for the humour of our age to bring into practice, or so much as to admit into consideration. Your Lordship, I know, has generous thoughts, and turned to such speculations as these. But that is not enough towards the raising such buildings as I have drawn you here the lines of, unless the direction of all affairs here were wholly in your hands, or at least the opinion lost of other men's being able to contest with you those points of public utility, which you ought best to know, and most to be believed in, while you deserve or

discharge so great a trust as the government of this kingdom. For I think a Prince cannot too much consider whom to chuse for such employments; but, when he has chosen, cannot trust them too far, or thereby give them too much authority; no more than end it too soon, whenever he finds it abused. In short, it is left only to Princes to mend the world, whose commands find general obedience, and examples imitation. For all other men, they must take it as they find it; and good men enter into commerce with it, rather upon cautions of not being spoiled themselves, than upon hopes of mending the world. At least, this opinion becomes men of my level, amongst whom I have observed all set quarrels with the age, and pretences of reforming it by their own models, to end commonly like the pains of a man in a little boat, who tugs at a rope that is fast to a ship; it looks as if he resolved to draw the ship to him, but the truth and his meaning is, to draw himself to the ship; where he gets in when he can, and does like the rest of the crew when he is there. When I have such designs, I will begin such contentions; in the mean time, the bent of my thoughts shall be rather to mend myself than the world, which I reckon upon leaving much what I found it. Nor should I have reason in complaining too far of an age, which does your Lordship so much justice, by the honour of so great an employment. In which, as I know no man deserves greater successes than you do, so, I am sure, no man wishes you greater than I do.

OF

POPULAR DISCONTENTS.*

SECTION I.

AMONG several differences or distinctions which curious and busy, or rather idle men have observed between the races of mankind and those of their fellow-creatures, most have been by some disputed,

The Publisher to the Reader of the First Edition of MISCELLANEA, Part III.

* The two following essays, *Of Popular Discontents*, and *Of Health and long Life*, were written many years before the author's death: they were revised and corrected by himself; and were designed to have been part of a third *Miscellanea*, to which some others were to have been added, if the latter part of his life had been attended with any sufficient degree of health.

For the third paper, relating to the controversy about *Ancient and Modern Learning*, I cannot well inform the reader upon what occasion it was writ, having been at that time in another kingdom; but it appears never to have been finished by the author.

The two next papers contain the heads of two essays, intended to have been written upon the *Different Conditions of Life and Fortune*; and upon *Conversation*. I have directed they should both be printed among the rest, because I believed there are few who will not be content to see even the first draughts of any thing from this author's hands.

At the end I have added a few translations from *Virgil*, *Horace*, and *Tibullus*, or rather imitations, done by the author above thirty years ago; whereof the first was printed among other eclogues of *Virgil* in the year 1679, but without any mention of the author. They were indeed not intended to have been made public, till I was informed of several copies that were got abroad, and these very imperfect and corrupt. Therefore the reader finds them here, only to prevent him from finding them in other places very faulty, and perhaps accompanied with many spurious additions.

JONATHAN SWIFT.

and few by all allowed. Those chiefly insisted on have been, something peculiar in their shape, weeping, laughter, speech, reason; but the comptrollers of vulgar opinion have pretended to find out such a similitude of shape in some kind of baboons, or at least such as they call drills, that leaves little difference, besides those of feature in face, and of hair on their bodies; in both which, men themselves are very different. They observe tears (though not the convulsions of face by weeping) in stags and tortoises, upon approach of the fatal knife; and that they cry at going out of the world, as well as men at their coming in. For speech, they pretend to doubt whether the divers sounds made by animals may not have diversity of significations, as words more articulate with us; and whether we can properly judge of their diversity, since we find so little in the common speech of some nations, especially those about the Cape of Good Hope and the northern parts of Muscovy, where they are observed to drive their trade of selling furs without the use of above twenty words, even with those that understand their language. For the great number of words seems not natural, but introduced by the variety of passions, actions, possessions, business, entertainments in more civilized nations, and by long course of time under civil governments. Besides, other creatures are allowed to express their most natural wants and passions by the sounds they make, as well as men, which is all that is necessary in speech; and none will dispute anger, desire, love, fear, to be livelier expressed by us, than by the lion, the horse, the bull, the buck; or tenderness, more than by the bleating of ewes to their lambs, or the kindness of turtles to their mates. For articulate sounds and words, we meet them in parrots and several other birds; and, if theirs are taught them, so are ours at first to children; and though we usu-

ally esteem them in others to be only repetition or imitation, yet some instances of the contrary have been remarked in our age; and it appears by Greek and Latin authors to have been believed by ancients, that certain birds in the Indies were commonly known not only to speak as parrots among us, but to talk and discourse.

For reason, that of brutes, as dogs, horses, owls, foxes, but especially elephants, is so common a theme, that it needs no instances, nor can well be illustrated beyond what Plutarch, Ælian, Montaigne, and many others have curiously written upon that subject; nor can any man's common life pass without occasions of remark, and even wonder, upon what they may see every day of this kind: so that of all those distinctions mentioned, and usually produced, there is none left unquestioned by the curious beside that of laughter, which cannot, I think, or at least I know not to have been disputed, being proper and peculiar to man, without any traces or similitude of it in any other creature: and, if it were always an expression of good humour, or being pleased, we should have reason to value ourselves more upon it; but it is moved by such different and contrary objects and affections, that it has gained little esteem, since we laugh at folly as well as wit, at accidents that vex us sometimes, as well as others that please us, and at the malice of apes, as well as the innocence of children; and the things that please us most, are apt to make other sorts of motions both in our faces and hearts, and very different from those of laughter.

But there remains yet one other difference between us and the rest of our fellow-creatures, which, though less taken notice of in the usual reasonings or enquiries of this kind, yet seems to challenge a rank and a right as due and as undisputed as any of the others, which seems a very ill effect of a very

good cause, a thorn that ever grows with a rose, and a great debasement of the greatest prerogative mankind can pretend to, which is that of reason: what I mean is, a certain restlessness of mind and thought, which seems universally and inseparably annexed to our very natures and constitutions, unsatisfied with what we are, or what we at present possess and enjoy, still raving after something past or to come, and by griefs, regrets, desires, or fears, ever troubling and corrupting the pleasures of our senses and of our imaginations, the enjoyments of our fortunes, or the best production of our reasons, and thereby the content and happiness of our lives.

This is the true, natural, and common source of such personal dissatisfactions, such domestic complaints, and such popular discontents, as afflict not only our private lives, conditions, and fortunes, but even our civil states and governments, and thereby consummate the particular and general infelicity of mankind; which is enough complained of by all that consider it in the common actions and passions of life, but much more in the factions, seditions, convulsions, and fatal revolutions that have so frequently, and in all ages, attended all or most of the governments in the world.

To these, of old, Sparta and Athens have been subject, as well as Carthage and Rome; the smaller kingdoms of Epire and Macedon, as well as the great empires of Egypt and Persia; the Monarchies, Aristocracies, and Democracies among the Gentiles, and even the Theocracy among the Jews, though one was instituted by God himself, and many of the others framed by the wisest of mortal men. In latter ages, Venice and Holland have been infested by these diseases, as well as England and France; the kingdoms of the Moors in Spain, as well as those of the Goths; the Christian govern-

ments, as well as the Mahometan; and those of the Reformed, like those of the Roman faith.

This restless humour, so general and natural to mankind, is a weed that grows in all soils and under all climates, but seems to thrive most and grow fastest in the best: 'tis raised easier by the more sprightly wits and livelier imaginations, than by grosser and duller conceptions; nor have the regions of Guiney and Muscovy been so much overrun with it, as those of Italy and Greece. The most speculative men are the most forecasting and most reflecting: and, the more ingenious men are, they are the more apt to trouble themselves.

From this original fountain issue those streams of faction, that, with some course of time and accidents, overflow the wisest constitutions of governments and laws, and many times treat the best Princes and truest Patriots, like the worst tyrants and most seditious disturbers of their country, and bring such men to scaffolds, that deserved statues, to violent and untimely deaths, that were worthy of the longest and the happiest lives. If such only as Phalaris and Agathocles, as Marius and Catiline, had fallen victims to faction or to popular rage, we should have little to wonder or complain; but we find the wisest, the best of men, have been sacrificed to the same idols. Solon and Pythagoras have been allowed as such in their own and in succeeding ages; and yet the one was banished, and the other murdered, by factions that two ambitious men had raised in commonwealths which those two wise and excellent men themselves had framed. The two Gracchi, the truest lovers of their country, were miserably slain: Scipio and Hannibal, the greatest and most glorious Captains of their own, or perhaps any other ages, and the best servants of those two great commonwealths, were banished or disgraced by the factions of their

countries: and, to come nearer home, Barnevelt and De Witt in Holland, Sir Thomas More, and the Earl of Essex, and Sir Walter Raleigh in England, esteemed the most extraordinary persons of their time, fell all bloody sacrifices to the factions of their courts or their countries.

There is no theme so large and so easy, no discourse so common and so plausible, as the faults or corruptions of governments, the miscarriages or complaints of Magistrates; none so easily received, and spread, among good and well-meaning men, none so mischievously raised and employed by ill, nor turned to worse and more disguised ends. No governments, no times, were ever free from them, nor ever will be, till all men are wise, good, and easily contented. No civil or politic constitutions can be perfect or secure, whilst they are composed of men, that are for the most part passionate, interested, unjust, or unthinking, but generally and naturally restless and unquiet; discontented with the present, and what they have, raving after the future, or something they want, and thereby ever disposed and desirous to change.

This makes the first and universal default of all governments; and this made the philosophers of old, instead of seeking or accepting the public magistracies or offices of their countries, employ their time and care to improve men's reasons, to temper their affections, to allay their passions, to discover the vanity or the mischief of pride and ambition, of riches and of luxury; believing the only way, to make their countries happy and safe, was to make men wise and good, just and reasonable. But as nature will ever be too strong for art, so these excellent men succeeded as little in their design, as lawgivers have done in the frame of any perfect government; and all of them left the world much as they found it, ever unquiet, subject to changes

and revolutions, as our minds are to discontents, and our bodies to diseases.

Another cause of distempers in state, and discontents under all governments, is the unequal condition that must necessarily fall to the share of so many and so different men that compose them. In great multitudes, few in comparison are born to great titles or great estates; few can be called to public charges and employments of dignity or power, and few by their industry and conduct arrive at great degrees of wealth and fortune; and every man speaks of the fair as his own market goes in it. All are easily satisfied with themselves and their own merit, though they are not so with their fortune; and, when they see others in better condition whom they esteem less deserving, they lay it upon the ill constitution of government, the partiality or humour of Princes, the negligence or corruption of Ministers. The common sort of people always find fault with the Times, and some must always have reason; for the merchant gains by peace, and the soldier by war; the shepherd by wet seasons, and the ploughman by dry: when the city fills, the country grows empty; and, while trade increases in one place, it decays in another. In such variety of conditions and courses of life, mens designs and interests must be opposite one to another, and both cannot succeed alike: whether the winner laughs or no, the loser will complain, and, rather than quarrel at his own skill or fortune, will do it with the dice, or those he plays with, or the master of the house. When any body is angry, some body must be in fault; and those of seasons which cannot be remedied, of accidents that could not be prevented, of miscarriages that could not be foreseen, are often laid upon the Government, and, whether right or wrong, have the same effect of

raising or increasing the common and popular discontents.

Besides the natural propension, and the inevitable occasions of complaint from the dispositions of men, or accidents of fortune; there are others that proceed from the very nature of government. None was ever perfect, or free from very many and very just exceptions. The republics of Athens, Carthage, and Rome, so renowned in the world, and which have furnished story with the greatest actions and persons upon the records of time, were but long courses of disorder and vicissitude, perpetually rolling between the oppressions of Nobles, the seditions of people, the insolence of soldiers, or tyranny of commanders. All places and ages of the world yield the same examples; and if we travel as far as China and Peru, to find the best composed frames of government that seem to have been in the world, yet we meet with none that has not been subject to the same concussions, fallen at one time or other under the same convulsions of state, either by civil dissensions, or by foreign invasions.

But how can it otherwise fall out, when the very ideas of government have been liable to exceptions, as well as their actual frames and constitutions? The republic of Plato, the principality of Hobbs, the rotation of Oceana, have been all indicted and found guilty of many faults, or of great infirmities. Nay, the very kinds of government have never yet been out of dispute, but equal faults have by some or other been laid to the charge of them all: an absolute monarchy ruins the people; one limited endangers the Prince; an aristocracy is subject to emulations of the Great, and oppressions of the meaner sort; a democracy to popular tumults and convulsions; and, as tyranny commonly ends in popular tumults, so do these often in tyranny,

whilst factions are so violent that they will trust any thing else rather than one another.

So as a perfect scheme of government seems as endless and as useless a search, as that of the universal medicine, or the philosopher's stone; never any of them out of our fancy, never any like to be in our possession.

Could we suppose a body politic framed perfect in its first conception or institution, yet it must fall into decays, not only from the force of accidents, but even from the very rust of time; and, at certain periods, must be furbished up, or reduced to its first principles, by the appearance and exercise of some great virtues or some great severities. This the Florentines in their republic termed *ripigliare il Stato*, and the Romans often attempted it by introducing Agrarian laws, but could never atchieve it; they rather inflamed their dissensions by new feuds between the richer and poorer sort.

There is one universal division in all states, which is between the innocent and criminals; and another between such as are, in some measure, contented with what they possess by inheritance, or what they expect from their own abilities, industry, or parsimony; and others, who, dissatisfied with what they have, and not trusting to those innocent ways of acquiring more, must fall to others, and pass from just to unjust, from peaceable to violent. The first desire safety, and to keep what they have; the second are content with dangers, in hope to get what others legally possess: one loves the present state and government, and endeavours to secure it; the other desires to end this game, and shuffle for a new: one loves fixed laws, and the other arbitrary power; yet the last, when they have gained enough by factions and disorders, by rapine and violence, come then to change their principles with their fortunes, and grow friends to established orders

and fixed laws. So the Normans of old, when they had divided the spoils of the English lands and possessions, grew bold defenders of the ancient Saxon customs, or common laws of the kingdom, against the encroachments of their own kings. So of latter days it was observed that Cromwell's officers in the army, who were at first for burning all records, for levelling of lands while they had none of their own; yet, when afterwards they were grown rich and landed men, they fell into the praise of the English laws, and to cry up Magna Charta, as our ancestors had done with much better grace.

But laws serve to keep men in order when they are first well agreed and instituted, and afterwards continue to be well executed. Discontents, disorders, and civil dissensions much more frequently arise from want or miscarriage in the last than in the former. Some excellent lawgiver, or senate, may invent and frame some excellent constitution of government; but none can provide that all magistrates or officers necessary to conduct or support it shall be wise men or good; or, if they are both, shall have such care and industry, such application and vigour, as their offices require. Now, were the constitution of any government never so perfect, the laws never so just; yet, if the administration be ill, ignorant, or corrupt, too rigid or too remiss, too negligent or severe, there will be more just occasions given of discontent and complaint, than from any weakness or fault in the original conception or institution of government. For it may perhaps be concluded, with as much reason as other themes of the like nature, that those are generally the best governments where the best men govern; and, let the sort or scheme be what it will, those are ill governments where ill men govern; and are generally employed in the offices of state. Yet this is an evil under the sun, to which all things

under the sun are subject, not only by accident, but even by natural dispositions, which can very hardly be altered, nor ever were, that we read of, unless in that ancient government of the Chinese empire, established upon the deepest and wisest foundations of any that appears in story.

How can a Prince always chuse well such as he employs, when men's dispositions are so easily mistaken, and their abilities too? how deceitful are appearances? how false are mens professions? how hidden are their hearts? how disguised their principles? how uncertain their humours? Many men are good and esteemed when they are private, ill and hated when they are in office; honest and contented when they are poor, covetous and violent when they grow rich: they are bold one day, and cautious another; active at one time of their lives, and lazy the rest; sometimes pursue their ambition, and sometimes their pleasure; nay, among soldiers, some are brave one day, and cowards another, as great Captains have told me on their own experience and observation. Gravity often passes for wisdom, wit for ability; what men say for what they think, and boldness of talk for boldness of heart; yet they are often found to be very different. Nothing is so easily cheated, nor so commonly mistaken, as vulgar opinion; and many men come out, when they come into great and public employments, the weakness of whose heads or hearts would never have been discovered, if they had kept within their private spheres of life.

Besides, Princes or states cannot run into every corner of their dominions, to look out persons fit for their service, or that of the public: they cannot see far with their own eyes, nor hear with their own ears; and must for the most part do both with those of other men, or else chuse among such smaller numbers as are most in their way; and

these are such, generally, as make their court, or give their attendance, in order to advance themselves to honours, to fortunes, to places and employments; and are usually the least worthy of them, and better servants to themselves than the government. The needy, the ambitious, the half-witted, the proud, the covetous, are ever restless to get into public employments, and many others that are uneasy or ill entertained at home. The forward, the busy, the bold, the sufficient, pursue their game with more passion, endeavour, application, and thereby often succeed where better men would fail. In the course of my observation I have found no talent of so much advantage among men, towards their growing great or rich, as a violent and restless passion and pursuit for one or t'other: and whosoever sets his heart and thoughts wholly upon some one thing, must have very little wit, or very little luck, to fail. Yet all these cover their ends with most worthy pretences, and those noble sayings, That men are not born for themselves, and must sacrifice their lives for the public, as well as their time and their health: and those who think nothing less are so used to say such fine things, that such who truly believe them are almost ashamed to own it. In the mean time, the noble, the wise, the rich, the modest, those are easy in their conditions or their minds, those who know most of the world and themselves, are not only careless, but often averse from entering into public charges or employments, unless upon the necessities of their country, commands of their Prince, or instances of their friends. What is to be done in this case, when such as offer themselves, and pursue, are not worth having, and such as are most worthy, will neither offer, nor perhaps accept?

There is yet one difficulty more, which sometimes arrives like an ill season or great barrenness in a

country: some ages produce many great men and few great occasions; other times, on the contrary, raise great occasions, and few or no great men: and that sometimes happens to a country, which was said by the fool of Brederode; who going about the fields, with the motions of one sowing corn, was asked what he sowed; he said, I sow fools; t'other replied, Why do you not sow wise men? 'Why,' said the fool, '*C'est que la terre ne les porte pas.*' In some places and times, the races of men may be so decayed, by the infirmities of birth itself, from the diseases or disaffection of parents; may be so depraved by the viciousness or negligence of education, by licentious customs, and luxuries of youth, by ill examples of Princes, parents, and magistrates, or by lewd and corrupt principles, generally infused and received among a people, that it may be hard for the best Princes and Ministers to find subjects fit for the command of armies, or great charges of the state; and, if these are ill supplied, there will be always too just occasion given for exception and complaints against the government, though it be never so well framed and instituted.

These defects and infirmities, either natural or accidental, make way for another; which is more artificial, but of all others the most dangerous. For when, upon any of these occasions, complaints and discontents are sown among well-meaning men, they are sure to be cultivated by others that are ill and interested, and who cover their own ends under those of the public, and, by the good and service of the nation, mean nothing but their own. The practice begins of knaves upon fools, of artificial and crafty men upon the simple and the good; these easily follow, and are caught, while the others lay trains, and pursue a game, wherein they design no other share, than of toil and danger to their com-

pany, but the gain and the quarry wholly to themselves.

They blow up sparks that fall in by chance, or could not be avoided, or else throw them in wherever they find the stubble is dry: they find out miscarriages wherever they are, and forge them often where they are not; they quarrel first with the officers, and then with the Prince or the State; sometimes with the execution of laws, and at others with the institutions, how ancient and sacred soever. They make fears pass for dangers, and appearances for truth; represent misfortunes for faults, and mole-hills for mountains; and by the persuasions of the vulgar, and pretences of patriots, or lovers of their country, at the same time they undermine the credit and authority of the government, and set up their own. This raises a faction between those subjects that would support it, and those that would ruin it; or rather between those that possess the honours and advantages of it, and those that, under the pretence of reforming, design only or chiefly to change the hands it is in, and care little what becomes of the rest.

When this fire is kindled, both sides inflame it; all care of the publick is laid aside, and nothing is pursued, but the interest of the factions: all regard of merit is lost in persons employed, and those only chosen, that are true to the party; and all the talent required is, to be hot, to be heady, to be violent of one side or other. When these storms are raised, the wise or the good are either disgraced or laid aside, or retire of themselves, and leave the scene free to such as are most eager, or most active to get upon the stage, or find most men ready to help them up.

From these seeds grow popular commotions, and at last seditions, which so often end in some fatal

periods of the best governments, in so strong convulsions and revolutions of state; and many times make way for new institutions and forms, never intended by those who first began or promoted them; and often determine either in setting up some tyranny at home, or bringing in some conquest from abroad. For the animosities and hatred of the factions grow so great, that they will submit to any power, the most arbitrary and foreign, rather than yield to an opposite party at home; and are of the mind of a great man in one of our neighbouring countries, who, upon such a conjuncture, said, if he must be eaten up, he would rather it should be by wolves than by rats.

It imports little, from what poor small springs the torrents of faction first arise, if they are fed with care, and improved by industry, and meet with dispositions fitted to receive and embrace them. That of the Prasini and Veneti was as violent and fatal at Constantinople, as that of the Guelphs and Gibellins in Italy: though one began only upon the divided opinions and affections, about two publick theatres, or play-houses, called the blue, and the sea-green: whereas the other pretended the right of investing Bishops to be in the Emperor or the Pope. Whatever the beginnings of factions are, the consequences are the same, and the ends too, of those chiefly engaged in them, which is to act the same part in different masks, and to pursue private passions or interests, under publick pretences.

Upon the survey of these dispositions in mankind, and these conditions of government, it seems much more reasonable to pity, than to envy the fortunes and dignities of Princes or great Ministers of state; and to lessen and excuse their venial faults, or at least their misfortunes, rather than to increase or make them worse by ill colours and representa-

tions. For, as every Prince should govern, as he would desire to be governed, if he were a subject, so every subject should obey, as he would desire to be obeyed, if he were a prince; since this moral principle of doing as you would be done by, is certainly the most indisputed and universally allowed of any other in the world, how ill soever it may be practised by particular men.

It would be hard to leave princes and states with so ill prospects and presages of ease or success in the administration of their governments, as these reflexions must afford them; and therefore I will not end this essay, without some offers at their safety, by fixing some marks like lights upon a coast, by which their ships may avoid, at least, known rocks or sands, where wrecks or dangers have been usually observed: for, to those that come from heaven by storms, or the fatal periods decreed above, all the world must submit.

The first safety of princes and states lies in avoiding all councils or designs of innovation, in ancient and established forms and laws, especially those concerning liberty, property, and religion (which are the possessions men will ever have most at heart); and thereby leaving the channel of known and common justice clear and undisturbed.

The second, in pursuing the true and common interest of the nation they govern, without espousing those of any party or faction; or, if these are so formed in a state, that they must incline to one or other, then to choose and favour that which is most popular, or wherein the greatest or strongest part of the people appeared to be engaged. For, as the end of government seems to be *salus populi*, so the strength of the government is the consent of the people; which made that maxim of *vox populi, vox Dei*: that is, the governors, who are few,

will ever be forced to follow the strength of the governed, who are many, let them be either people or armies, by which they govern.

A third is, the countenancing and introducing, as far as is possible, the customs and habits of industry and parsimony into the countries they govern; for frugal and industrious men are usually safe and friendly to the established government, as the idle and expensive are dangerous from their humours or necessities.

The last consists in preventing dangers from abroad; for foreign dangers raise fears at home, and fears among the people raise jealousies of the prince or state, and give them ill opinions, either of their abilities, or their good intentions. Men are apt to think well of themselves, and of their nation, of their courage and their strength; and, if they see it in danger, they lay the fault upon the weakness, ill conduct, or corruption of their governors, the ill orders of state, ill choice of officers, or ill discipline of armies; and nothing makes a discontent or sedition so fatal at home, as an invasion, or the threats and prospect of one, from abroad.

Upon these four wheels, the chariot of a state may, in all appearance, drive easy and safe, or at least not be too much shaken by the usual roughness of ways, unequal humours of men, or any common accidents: further is not to be provided; for, though the beginnings of great fires are often discovered and thereby others easily prevented with care; yet some may be thrown in from engines far off, and out of sight; others may fall from heaven; and it is hard to determine whether some constellations of celestial bodies, or inflammations of air from meteors or comets, may not have a powerful effect upon the minds, as well as the bodies, of men, upon the distempers and dis-

eases of both, and thereby upon heats and humours of vulgar minds, and the commotions and seditions of a people who happen to be most subjected to their influence: in such cases, when the flame breaks out, all that can be done is, to remove as fast as can be all materials that are like to increase it, to employ all ways and methods of quenching it, to repair the breaches and losses it has occasioned, and to bear with patience what could not be avoided, or cannot be remedied.

SECTION II.

I CANNOT leave this subject of popular discontents, without reflecting and bewailing, how much and how often our unfortunate country has been infested by them, and their fatal consequences, in the miseries and deplorable effects of so many foreign and civil wars, as these have occasioned, and seem still to threaten: how often they have ruined or changed the Crown; how much blood they have drawn of the bravest subjects; how they have ravaged and defaced the noblest island of the world, and which seems, from the happy situation, the temper of climate, the fertility of soil, the numbers and native courage of the inhabitants, to have been destined by God and nature, for the greatest happiness and security at home, and to give laws, or ballance at least, to all their neighbours abroad.

These popular discontents, with the factions and dissensions they have raised, made way for the Roman, Saxon, and Norman conquests: these drew so much blood, and made so great desolations in the barons wars during the reigns of several Kings, till the time of Edward III. upon disputes between prerogative and liberty, or the rights of the crown and those of the subject. These involved the na-

tion in perpetual commotions or civil wars, from the reign of Richard II. to Henry VII. upon the disputes of right and title to the crown, between the two roses, or the races of York and Lancaster, while the popular discontents at the present reign made way for the succession of a new Pretender, more than any regards of right or justice in their title, which served only to cover the bent and humour of the people to such a change. In the time of Henry VIII. began the differences of religion, which tore the nation into two mighty factions, and, under the names of Papist and Protestant, struggled in her bowels with many various events and many consequences, many fatal effects, and more fatal dangers, till the Spanish invasion in 1588. After which, the ballance of the parties grew so unequal in weight and number, as to calm and secure the rest of Queen Elizabeth's time: yet before the end of her reign began a new faction in the State to appear and swell against the established government of the Church, under pretence of a further reformation, after the examples of Geneva or Stratsburg, from whence the chief of this party, during the flight or banishment from the cruelties of Queen Mary's reign, drew their protection and their opinions, in defiance of ecclesiastical powers and dignities, as well as several ceremonies, such as the surplice, the altar, and the cross, with others yet more indifferent. This faction increased in number, and popular vogue or esteem, all the reign of King James; and, seeming to look either dangerously or unkindly upon the Crown, gave occasion to the Court of endeavouring to introduce into the Church and State some opinions the most contrary to those of the Puritan, or dissenting faction: as that of divine right, and thereby more arbitrary power in Kings; and that of passive obedience in the subjects. These opi-

nions or pretences divided the nation into parties, so equal in number or in strength, by the weight of the established government on the one hand, and the popular humour on the other, as produced those long miseries, and fatal revolutions of the Crown and nation, between 1641 and 1660, when his Majesty's happy restoration seemed to have given a final period to all new commotions or revolutions in this kingdom, and to all discontents that were considerable enough to raise or foment any new divisions. How they have been since revived, and so well improved; for what ends, and with what consequences upon the safety, honour, and power of this kingdom, let those answer either to God or man, who have been the authors or promoters of such wise councils, and such noble designs. 'Tis enough for me to have endeavoured the union of my country, whilst I continued in public employments; and to have left the busy scene, in the fullest career of favour and of fortune, rather than have any part in the divisions or factions of our nation, when I saw them grow incurable. A true and honest physician is excused for leaving his patient, when he finds the disease grown desperate, and can, by his attendance, expect only to receive his own fees, without any hopes or appearance of deserving them, or contributing further to his health or recovery.

A weak or unequal faction, in any state, may serve perhaps to enliven or animate the vigour of a government: but, when it grows equal, or near proportioned in strength or number, and irreconcilable by the animosity of the parties, it cannot end without some violent crisis and convulsion of the state, and hardly without some new revolution, and perhaps final ruin, of the government, in case a foreign invasion enters upon the breaches of civil distractions.

But such fatal effects of popular discontents, either past or to come, in this floating island, will be a worthy subject of some better history than has been yet written of England. I shall here only regret one unhappy effect of our discontents and divisions, that will ever attend them, even when they are not violent or dangerous enough to disturb our peace; which is, that they divert our greatest councils from falling upon the consultations and pursuits of several acts and institutions, which seem to be the most useful and necessary for the common interest and public good of the kingdom, without regard to any partialities, which busy the councils as well as actions of all factious times.

I shall therefore trace, upon this paper, the rough draught of some such notions as I have had long and often in my head, but never found a season to pursue them, nor of late years ever believed it could fall out in the course of my life. And, having long since retired from all public employments, I shall, with this essay, take leave of all public thoughts.

The first act I esteem of greatest and most general use, if not necessity, is, that whereas the safety, honour, and wealth of this kingdom depends chiefly on our naval forces, a distinct and perpetual revenue may be applied, and appropriated by act of parliament, for the maintaining of fifty men of war, with ten thousand seamen, to be always either at sea, or ready in port to sail upon all occasions; this navy to be so proportioned, by the several rates of ships, as may serve in peace to secure our trade from the danger of all Turkish piracies, or sudden insults or insolencies of our neighbours; may assert the dominion and safety of the narrow seas; and, in time of war, may, with the addition of thirty capital ships more, compose

a fleet strong enough, with the blessing of God and a just cause, to fight a fair battle with any fleet the strongest of our neighbours can pretend to set out: for I am of opinion, that fourscore English men of war well mann'd, with the conduct of good officers, and hearts of our seamen, may boldly engage the greatest of them, whenever they come to a close fight; which the built of our ships, and courage of our seamen, is more proper and able to maintain than any other nation of the world. The constant charge of fifty such ships may amount to six hundred thousand pounds a year; and, if this exceeded the current charge, the rest might be applied to repair old or build new ships. One half might be appropriated to this use out of the customs, and the other half raised by some clear tax upon the houses or lands of each parish, collected by the church-wardens, each half year, and by them paid into the sheriff of each county, and by him into the treasury of the navy. This should be fixed in some place of the city, and managed by three commissioners, who should upon salaries (and without fees) be sworn to issue it out to no other uses than those above mentioned, and incur the penalties of treason in case they failed. Such a tax would be insensible, and pass but as a small quit-rent, which every man would be content to pay towards the guard of the seas; the money would circulate at home among ourselves, and would secure and increase the vast wealth of our trade. But it is unaccountable what treasures it would save this nation, by preventing so many wars or quarrels abroad as we have been exposed to by our neighbours insolencies, upon our being disarmed or ill-provided at sea. Nor would such a fleet constantly maintained be of small effect to poise any factions or discontents at home, but would at least leave us to

compose our own differences, or decide our quarrels without the dangerous intervention or invasion of any foreign power.

The second is, that whereas the strength and wealth of any country consists chiefly in the numbers and riches of the inhabitants, and these are much encouraged and increased by the security of what estates men shall be able to gain by their industry and parsimony, or of what foreigners shall be desirous to bring from abroad, upon any dangers or dislikes of their own countries or governments; any act may pass for public registries of land, by which all purchasers or mortgagees may be secured of all monies they shall lay out upon such occasions. I dare hardly venture to say how great sums of money I could have sent over during my embassies abroad, if I could have proposed any safe and easy ways of securing them for the owners, whereof many were resolved to follow their effects, if they might have had this just encouragement. I know very well how many arguments will be raised against such an act, and chiefly by the lawyers, whose unreasonable gains arise from such suits and disputes as would be avoided by such an institution. For this reason, they will ever entangle any such proposal not only with many difficulties, but by their nice and subtle reasonings, will pretend even impossibilities. I shall not here trouble myself to answer all I have heard, and all I believe they can say upon this subject, farther than by one common maxim, that whatever has been may be; and, since we know this to have been practised with infinite advantage ever since Charles V's time, both in the Spanish and United Provinces of the Netherlands, no man can pretend to doubt but with the same sense, application, and public intentions in our government, it may likewise be established here. There is something equivalent

to it in France, which they call *vendre par decret*, and which ends all disputes or pretences; and likewise in Scotland: so as 'tis a very hard calumny upon our soil or climate, to affirm that so excellent a fruit, which prospers among all our neighbours, will not grow here.

Besides, there needs no more than to make such a registry only voluntary, to avoid all the difficulties that can be raised, and which are not too captious, or too trivial to take notice of. The difference of value between those lands men should chuse to register, and those left loose, would soon evince the benefit of such an act, as well as the money it would draw from abroad.

One argument I have met with from some persons who always value themselves to their country by jealousies of the crown, and that is the increase of offices in the King's disposal: but rather than such a thing should fail, and if all scruples must be satisfied, the registers in each county may be chosen by the county court, and their patents may be always granted during good behaviour.

Another act, which seems necessary or agreeable to our constitution, and at all seasons, both of health and distempers in the state, is a provision for the better employing all those vast sums of monies, which are either raised every year in this kingdom for the maintenance of the poor, or bestowed freely upon such charitable uses. A great part of this treasure is now embezzled, lavished, or feasted away by collectors and other officers, or else so employed as rather to increase than relieve the poor; whereas, if it were laid out in erecting work-houses in each county, or in raising a stock to find continual work for such as should fill them (if any more speedy way should be found to build them) not only the impotent poor might be relieved, but the idle and able might be forced to la-

bour, and others who wanted it might find employment; and if this were turned chiefly upon our woollen manufacture (which ought to be ever the staple trade of England, as that of linen ought to be of Ireland) it would soon improve to such a height as to out-sell our neighbours, and thereby advance the proportion of our exported commodities to such a degree, as would by the return increase the treasure of this kingdom above what it has ever been known, or can ever be by other means, than a mighty over-ballance of our exported to our imported commodities. All other cares or projects, to bring in coin or bullion, are either insignificant or temporary, if not wholly vain, and sometimes prejudicial.

I have often thought that some more effectual way might be found out for preventing or suppressing of common thefts and robberies (which so often endanger or disquiet the inhabitants, and infest the trade of this kingdom) than those which are of common use among us. The sanguinary laws upon these occasions, as they are not of ancient date, so they seem not to agree with the mildness and clemency of our government in the rest of its composition. Besides, they deprive us of so many subjects, whose lives are every year cut off in great numbers, and which might otherwise be of use to the kingdom, whose strength consists in the number, and riches, and the labour of the inhabitants. But the worst part of this custom or institution is, that they have hitherto proved without effect, and have neither extinguished the humour and practice of such crimes, nor lessened the number of such criminals amongst us; nor is it indeed to be hoped or expected they ever should, in a nation whose known and general character is to be more fearless of death and dangers than any other, and more impatient of labour or of hard-

ships, either in suffering the want, or making the provision of such food and cloaths as they find or esteem necessary for the sustenance of their lives, or for the health, and strength, and vigour of their bodies. This appears among all our troops that serve abroad, as indeed their only weak side, which makes the care of the belly the most necessary piece of conduct in the commander of an English army, who will never fail of fighting well, if they are well fed. For these reasons it may seem probable, that the more natural and effectual way in our nation, to prevent or suppress thefts and robberies, were to change the usual punishment by short and easy deaths, into some others of painful and uneasy lives, which they will find much harder to bear, and be more unwilling and afraid to suffer, than the other. Therefore a liberty might at least be left to the judges and the bench, according to the difference of persons, crimes, and circumstances, to inflict either death, or some notorious mark, by slitting the nose, or such brands upon the cheeks, which can never be effaced by time or art; and such persons to be condemned either to slavery in our plantations abroad, or labour in work-houses at home; and this either for their lives, or certain numbers of years, according to the degrees of their crimes. However, the distinguished marks of their guilt would be not only perpetual ignominy, but discover them upon escapes, and warn others of their danger wherever they are encountered.

I do not esteem it wholly improbable, that some such laws as these forementioned may at one time or other be considered, at least in some Parliament that shall be at leisure from the necessity or urgency of more pressing affairs, and shall be cool and undistempered from those heats of faction, or animosity of parties, as have in our age been so

usual within those walls, and in so great a measure diverted the regards and debates of public and lasting institutions, to those of temporary provisions or expedients upon present occasions and conjunctures in the courses or changes of our government, or distempers of the state. But there are some other institutions I am content to trace out upon this paper, that would make me appear either visionary or impertinent, if I should imagine they could either be resolved in our age and country, or be made farther use of, than for the present humour of our times to censure and to ridicule them: yet I will so much expose myself to both, as to confess I esteem them of great consequence and public utility to the constitution of our kingdom, either for the present or succeeding ages, which ought to be the care of laws and publick institutions; and so I shall leave them for the next Utopian scheme, that shall be drawn by as good a man and as great wit as the last was left us.

The first is, that no man should hold or enjoy at a time more than one civil office or military command in the kingdom: which is grounded upon this principle, that, as the life of all laws is the due execution of them, so the life and perfection of all governments is the due administration; and that, by the different degrees of this, the several forms of the other are either raised or debased more than by any difference in their original institutions: so that perhaps it may pass among so many other maxims in the politic, "That those are the best "governments which are best administred, and "where all offices are supplied by persons chosen "to them with just distinction of merit, and ca-"pacity for discharging them, and of application "to do it honestly and sufficiently." That which seems, in my age, to have in a great measure de-

prived our government of this advantage, has not been only the partiality of Princes and Ministers in the choice of persons employed, or their negligence and want of distinction, upon which it is usually laid; but also the common ambition or avarice of those who are chosen. For few of them, when they are gotten into an office, apply their thoughts to the execution of it, but are presently diverted by the designs of getting another, and a third; and very often he, that has three, is as unquiet and discontented, and thereby grows as troublesome a pretender, as when he had none at all. Whereas, if every man was sure to have but one at a time, he would, by his application and sufficiency in that, endeavour to deserve a greater in some kind, for which that might fit him, and help to promote him.

One objection may be made against such a law, and but one alone that I know of, besides those of particular interest; which is, that many offices in State are of so small revenue as not to furnish a man with what is sufficient for the support of his life, or discharge of his place. But the degrees of what is called sufficient or necessary are very many, and differ according to the humour and conceptions of several men; and there is no office so small, that some or other will not be content to execute, for the profit, the credit, or perhaps for the business or amusement, which some are as needy of as they are of the other two. Besides, if offices were single, there would be more persons employed in a state, and thereby the fewer left of that restless temper, which raises those private discontents, that, under the mask of public good, of reforming abuses, or redressing grievances (to which perhaps the nature of all government is incident) raise factions that ripen into the greatest disturbances and revolutions.

The second of these three imaginary constitutions is raised by the speculation, how much the number of inhabitants falls below what the extent of our territory and fertility of our soil, makes it capable of entertaining and supporting with all necessaries and conveniencies of life. Our people have not only been drained by many civil or foreign wars, and one furious devouring pestilence, within these fifty years, but by great numbers of English resorting into Ireland upon the desolations arrived there. Yet these are transitory taxes upon the bodies of men, as the expences of war are upon their estates; arrive casually, and continue but for certain periods. There are others perpetual, and which are, like constant rents, paid every year out of the stock of people in this kingdom; such as are drained off by furnishing the colonies of so many plantations in the West-Indies, and so great navigations into the East, as well as the South; which climates are very dangerous and fatal to tempers born and bred in one so different as ours. Besides, the vast trade by sea we drive into all parts of the world, by the inclemency of seasons, the inconstancy and rage of that element, with the ventrous humour of our mariners, costs this island many brave lives every year, which, if they staid at home, might serve the present age, and go far to supply the next. The only way of recovering such losses is by the invitation of foreigners, and the increase of natives among us.

The first is to be made by the easiness of naturalization, and of freedom in our corporations, by allowing such liberty in different professions of religion, as cannot be dangerous to the government. By a registry of lands, which may furnish easy securities for money, that shall be brought over by strangers; but chiefly by the wisdom, steadiness, and safety of our government, which makes the

great resort of men, who live under arbitrary laws and taxes, or in countries subject to sudden and frequent invasions of ambitious and powerful neighbours.

For the increase of our natives, it seems as reasonable a case among us, as it has been in so many other constitutions of laws, especially the antient Jews and Romans, who were the most populous of any other nations, upon such extent of territory as they possessed in Syria and Italy.

This care is reduced into those two points, upon which all laws seem to turn, reward and punishment: the first is provided by privileges granted to a certain number of children, and by maintenance allotted out of the public, to such as too much burden poor families: for these, public work-houses in each county would be a certain provision, which might furnish work for all that want, as well as force it upon idle or criminal persons, and thereby infinitely increase the stock and riches of the nation, which arises more out of the labour of men, than the growth of the soil. The other hinge of punishment might turn upon a law, whereby all men who did not marry, by the age of five and twenty, should pay the third part of their revenue to some public uses, such as the building of ships and public work-houses, and raising a stock for maintaining them. This seems more necessary in our age, from the late humour (introduced by licentiousness) of so many mens marrying late or never, and would not only increase the people, but also turn the vein of that we call natural to that of legal propagation, which has ever been encouraged and honoured, as the other has been disfavoured by all institutions of government.

The next of my visions, upon this public theme, concerns the improving our races of Nobility and Gentry, as t'other does increasing the number of

our people in general. I will not say they are much impaired within these forty or fifty years, though I have heard others lament it, by their observation of many successive Parliaments, wherein they have served; but no man I suppose will doubt they are capable of being improved, or think that care might not as well be taken for men by public institutions, as it is for the races of other creatures by private endeavours. The weakness of children, both in their bodies and minds, proceeds not only from such constitutions or qualities in the parents, but also from the ill consequences upon generation, by marriages contracted without affection, choice, or inclination, (which is allowed by naturalists upon reason as well as experience); these contracts would never be made, but by mens avarice, and greediness of portions with the women they marry; which is grown among us to that degree, as to surmount and extinguish all other regards or desires: so that our marriages are made, just like other common bargains and sales, by the meer consideration of interest or gain, without any of love or esteem, of birth or of beauty itself, which ought to be the true ingredients of all happy compositions of this kind, and of all generous productions. Yet this custom is of no ancient date in England; and I think I remember, within less than fifty years, the first noble families that married into the city for downright money, and thereby introduced by degrees this public grievance, which has since ruined so many estates by the necessity of giving great portions to daughters; impaired many families by the weak or mean productions of marriage, made without any of that warmth and spirit that is given them, by force of inclination and personal choice; and extinguished many great ones by the aversion of the persons who should have continued them. I know no remedy for this evil under our sun, but a law providing that

no woman of what quality soever shall have the value of above two thousand pounds for her portion in marriage, unless she be an heiress; and that no such, above the value of two hundred pounds a-year, shall marry to any but younger brothers.

To this, mens general hopes of making their fortunes by wives, would be turned to other courses, and endeavours more useful to the public: young women would not be exposed, by the want of fortunes, and despair of marrying without them: noble families would not be exhausted by competition with those of meaner allay, in the point of portions; marriages would be made upon more natural motives, and more generous considerations, than mere dirty interest, and increase of riches, without measure or end. Shape and beauty, birth and education, wit and understanding, gentle nature and agreeable humour, honour and virtue, would come in for their share in such contracts, as must always have so great an influence upon all mens lives, and their posterity too. Besides, some little damps would be given to that pestilent humour and general mistake of placing all felicity in the endless degrees of riches, which beyond a certain proportion suited to each rank, neither conduce to health nor pleasure, to ease nor convenience. The love of money is the root of all evil; which is a truth that both morals and politics, philosophy and divinity, reason and experience, all agree in; and which makes the common disquiets of private life, and the disturbances of public governments.

> —— Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
> Auri sacra fames!

I have not heard any part of our ancient constitutions so much complained of, as the judicature of the house of Lords, as it is of late and usually exercised; which, if carried on a little farther, and

taken notice of by the house of Commons, as much as it seems to be resented by many of their members, may, for aught I know, at one time or other, occasion a breach between the two houses: an accident that would be, at all times, pernicious, but might, in some conjunctures prove fatal to the public affairs and interests of the kingdom.

I will not enter upon the question, whether this judicature has been as ancient as the Conqueror's time; or whether it has been exercised in civil causes only since the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign; both which I have known asserted by intelligent persons. But, let the antiquity be what it will, and the complaints against it never so just, I do not see how the course or abuses of it can be changed or remedied, but by the house of peers. And for this reason, as well as many others, it would be wise and generous, by some rules of their own, to give some redress to the complaints which are made upon this occasion. Whether this may be done by restriction of cases that shall be admitted to come before them, as to number or quality; or by giving consideration to the opinion of judges, or weight to their voices; I leave to those who better know the constitutions and forms of that house than I do. But this must be allowed, that, till the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Peerage of England was very different from what it has been since, or is at present, by the number and quality of the peers; and, for that reason, by the credit they had in the kingdom. For, besides that they were anciently few, and of very noble families, they were generally possessed of great estates, which rendered them less subject to corruption: and men were better content to have their rights and possessions determined by persons who had great ones of their own to lose, and which they were in danger of by the ill administration of their offices.

Now, besides the points of right or antiquity, and some others a little controverted between the Lords and Commons, the vulgar complaints against the present exercise of this judicature are; first, the number of the Peers being very great, in proportion to what it formerly was; then, the youth of so many Peers as sit in judgment, upon the weightiest causes, wherein knowledge and experience seem necessary to judge; and the last, that so many in that house have very small, and some perhaps no estate of land in England, contrary to the original institution.

The two first of these complaints might be remedied, if the Lords should please to make it an order of their house, that no person should have a voice in the judgment of any cause, before he were thirty years of age. The last cannot be remedied otherwise than by course of time, and a fixed resolution in the Crown to create no Baron who shall not, at the same time, entail four thousand pounds a-year, upon that honour whilst it continues in his family; a Viscount, five; an Earl, six; a Marquis, seven; and a Duke, eight. By this the respect and honour of the Peerage of England would be in some measure restored, not only in points that concern their judicature, but in that interest and influence among the people, by which they have often been so great a support to the crown in the reigns of wise and good Kings, and to the liberties of the people in the unfortunate times of weak Princes, or evil and ambitious ministers.

These speculations, how imaginary soever, are at least grounded upon the true, general, and perpetual interest of the nation, without any regards of parties and factions, of the necessities of particular times or occasions of government. And such constant interests of England there are, which last through all successions of kings, or revolutions of

state. Of this kind, and the most general as well as most necessary, are, the greatness of our naval forces; the ballance of our neighbouring powers; and our own union, by the extinction of factions among us. For our nation is too great, and too brave to be ruined by any but itself: and, if the number and weight of it roll one way, upon the greatest changes that can happen, yet England will still be safe; which is the end of all public institutions, as it was of the Roman laws; *Salus populi suprema lex esto.* To this all differing opinions, passions, and interests should strike sail, and, like proud swelling streams, though running different courses, should yet all make haste into the sea of common safety, from whence their springs are said to be derived; and which would otherwise overflow and lay waste the countries where they pass. Without this pretence at least, no faction would ever swell so high as to endanger a state; for all of them gain their power and number to their party, by pretending to be derived from regards of common safety, and of tending towards it in the surest or directest course.

The comparison between a state and a ship has been so illustrated by poets and orators, that 'tis hard to find any point wherein they differ; and yet they seem to do it in this, that, in great storms and rough seas, if all the men and lading roll to one side, the ship will be in danger of oversetting by their weight: but, on the contrary, in the storms of state, if the body of the people, with the bulk of estates, roll on one way, the nation will be safe. For the rest, the similitude holds, and happens alike to the one and to the other. When a ship goes to sea bound to a certain port, with a great cargo, and a numerous crew who have a share in the lading as well as safety of the vessel; let the weather and the gale be never so fair, yet, if, in

the course she steers, the ship's crew apprehend they see a breach of waters, which they are sure must come from rocks or sands that will endanger the ship unless the pilot changes his course: if the Captain, the Master, the Pilot, with some other of the officers, tell them they are fools or ignorant, and not fit to advise; that there is no danger, and it belongs to themselves to steer what course they please, or judge to be safe; and that the business of the crew is only to obey: if however the crew persist in their apprehensions of the danger, and the officers of the ship in the pursuit of their course, till the seamen will neither stand to their tackle, hand sails, or suffer the pilot to steer as he pleases; what can become of this ship, but that either the crew must be convinced by the Captain and officers, of their skill and care, and safety of their course; or these must comply with the common apprehensions and humours of the seamen; or else they must come at last to fall together by the ears, and so throw one another over-board, and leave the ship in the direction of the strongest, and perhaps to perish, in case of hard weather, for want of hands?

Just so in a state, divisions of opinion, though upon points of common interest or safety, yet, if pursued to the height, and with heat or obstinacy enough on both sides, must end in blows and civil arms, and, by their success, leave all in the power of the strongest rather than the wisest or the best intentions; or perhaps expose it to the last calamity of a foreign conquest. But nothing, besides the uniting of parties upon one common bottom, can save a state in a tempestuous season; and every one, both of the officers and crew, are equally concerned in the safety of the ship, as in their own, since, in that alone, theirs are certainly involved.

And thus I have done with these idle politic vi-

sions, and, at the same time, with all public thoughts as well as employments: very sorry that the speculations of my mind, or actions of my life, have been of no greater service to my country, which no man, I am sure, has loved better, or esteemed more; though my own temper, and the distempers of our nation, prevailed with me to leave their service sooner than perhaps was either necessary for me, or common with other men. But my age now, as well as my temper and long fixed resolutions, has made me unfit for any farther flights; which I leave to younger and abler persons; wishing them the same intentions and greater successes, and conjunctures more favourable to such public and generous thoughts and designs.

AN

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine tangit
Humanos animos.———

PREFACE.

I HAVE often complained that so ancient and noble a nation as ours, so renowned by the fame of their arms and exploits abroad, so applauded and envied for their wise and happy institutions at home, so flourishing in arts and learning, and so adorned by excellent writers in other kinds, should not yet have produced one good or approved general history of England. That of France has been composed with great industry by Des Serres; with judgment and candor by Mezeray. That of Spain, with great diligence and eloquent style, by Mariana. That of the Empire, with much pains and good order, as well as learning, by Pedro de Mexia: but ours have been written by such mean and vulgar authors, so tedious in their relations, or rather collections, so injudicious in the choice of what was fit to be told, or to be let alone, with so little order, and in so wretched a style, that as it is a shame to be ignorant in the affairs of our own country, so it is hardly worth the time or pains to be informed; since for that end, a man must read over a library, rather than a book; and, after all, must be content to forget more than he remembers.

'Tis true, some parcels or short periods of our history have been left us by persons of great worth and learning, much honoured or esteemed in their times; as, part of Edward IV. and Richard III. by Sir Thomas Moor; Henry VII. by Sir Francis Bacon; Henry VIII. by the lord Herbert; Edward VI. by Sir John Haywood; and Queen Elizabeth,

by Mr. Camden. There are, besides these, many voluminous authors of antient times in Latin, and of modern in English, with some foreigners, as Froissart and Polidore Virgil; out of all which might be framed a full and just body of our general history, if collected with pains and care, and digested with good order; for the architect is only wanting, and not the materials for such a building.

I will confess, I had it in my thoughts at one time of my life, and the most proper for such a work, to make an abridgment of our English Story, having observed that Mezeray's *Abrege* of his own, was more esteemed, and much more read than his larger volume; but those thoughts were soon diverted by other employments, wherein I had the hopes, as well as the intentions, of doing some greater services to my country. I have since endeavoured to engage some of my friends in the same design, whom I thought capable of atchieving it, but have not prevailed; some pretending modesty, and others too much valuing ease.

Therefore to invite and encourage some worthy spirit, and true lover of our country, to pursue this attempt, I have consented to the publishing of this Introduction to the History of England, wherein I have traced a short account of this island, the names, the inhabitants, and constitutions thereof, from the first originals, as far as I could find any ground of probable story, or of fair conjecture; since philosophers tell us, That none can be said to know things well, who does not know them in their beginnings. I have farther deduced it through the great and memorable changes of names, people, customs, and laws that passed here, until the end of the first Norman reign, which made the last and great period of this kingdom, leaving the successions and constitutions since that time, so fixed and established, as to have lasted for the space of

above six hundred years, without any considerable alteration from so long a course of time, or such variety of events, as have since arrived in the world.

I have hereby beaten through all the rough and dark ways of this journey; the rest lies fair and easy, through a plain and open country; and I should think myself happy, to see it well pursued by some abler hand, for the honour of our nation, and the satisfaction of our own, as well as foreign readers, who shall be curious to know our story. I wish it may be performed with the same good intentions, and with much better success, than this small endeavour of mine.

AN

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BRITAIN was by the ancients accounted the greatest island of the known world, and for ought is yet certain, may be so still, notwithstanding the later discoveries of Madagascar and Japan, which are by some brought into competition. It extends from north to south about ten degrees, and about two hundred miles in the breadth of its most extended angles. It was anciently called Albion, which seems to have been softened from Alpion, the word Alp in some of the original western languages, signifying generally very high lands or hills, as this isle appears to those who approach it from the continent. But of those times there is no certainty remains in story, more than that it was so called, and very little known to the rest of the world.

By the Romans, and some time before Cæsar, it was called Britannia; concerning which name very much debate, and no agreement, has been among the modern learned of our country, or of others. After raking into all the rubbish of those authors, that which seems to me most probable is, that the

strangers who came over into this island upon the score of traffick, from the coasts of Gaul or Germany, called the inhabitants by one common name of Briths, given them from the custom among them of painting their naked bodies and small shields with an azure blue, which by them was called Brith, and distinguished them from strangers who came among them: from this name of the inhabitants, the Romans, upon their invasions, conquests, and colonies established in Gaul, which brought them first acquainted with this island, called it Britannia, by giving a Latin termination to a barbarous name, and the same which appears to have been usual with them, by the appellations of many other countries, that fell under their commerce or conquests, as Mauritania, Lusitania, Aquitania, and several others commonly known. The curious may observe this care of the Romans, in giving their own terminations to many barbarous countries, and forming easy and pleasant sounds out of the harshest and most offensive to such elegant tongues and ears as theirs: I shall instance only in three, among many more, that are obvious to such as please themselves with these speculations. The province of Britain in France was called among the natives Al Mor; which signified *ad mare*, or near the sea; from this the Romans called it Armorica. The isle between the branches of the Rhine, which divide for some distance before they fall into the sea, was called by the Old Germans Vat Awe, which signifies fat or fruitful earth; and from this was framed the Latin word Batavia. The north-east part of Scotland was by the natives called Cal Dun, which signifies, a hill of hazel, with which it was covered; from whence the Romans gave it the name of Caledonia: all which have lasted in their language to this day.

The Britains were little known abroad, before

the first entrance of the Romans into their isle, or the preparations and enquiries they made in order to that expedition: the coasts only opposite to Gaul and Belgium, were frequented by merchants from thence, who came thereby acquainted with them, but little with the inland provinces: and these were the men from whom Cæsar drew his best intelligence concerning the country he intended to invade.

All that we find related of them by any credible witnesses or authority, before the Romans entered, is, that the whole country was filled with infinite numbers of people, mightily abounding in all sorts of cattle or beasts, both wild and tame; their houses poorly built, and scattered all over the country, without observance of order or distance, by which villages are composed; but the Britains were placed as every man liked, and at smaller or greater distances, as they were invited by the fertility of soil, or the convenience of wood or of water. They lived most upon milk, or flesh which they got by hunting; little upon corn, which was not in much esteem or plenty among them. What cloaths they wore to cover any parts of their bodies, were usually of the skins of beasts; but much of their body, as arms, legs, and thighs, was left naked; and in many of them, all; what was naked, was painted with blue. This was universal among them, whether esteemed an adornment, or terror to their adversaries, or to distinguish them from all their neighbours that came among them, as friends or as enemies.

Their towns were most upon their coasts, and founded for the advantage of havens, and the recourse of strangers from the continent, to buy and sell, or exchange wares with those of the island. These inhabitants were much more civilized than those of the inland country, by the commerce and frequentation of other nations, especially the Gauls,

who had long before been civilized by the Roman colonies. The commodities exported out of the isle, were chiefly hides and tin; which last was peculiar to this country, and in much use abroad, both in nearer and remoter regions, where this island was chiefly known by the product of this commodity, conveyed among them at so great distances, and so much in request. Some silver they had, but not in common use, as having few mines, and little knowledge how to improve them, either in the digging or refining: pearls they had too, and frequently found among them, but neither clear, nor coloured like those of the orient, and therefore in low esteem among the Romans; but little iron, and that used either for arms, or for rings, which was a sort of money current among them; the rest was of brass, which was brought from abroad, and employed only for this use.

Their language, customs, and religion, were generally the same with those of the Gauls, before the Roman conquests in that province, which were much earlier than in Britain: this affinity made them frequently assist the Gauls upon the coasts, in their wars against the Romans, and gave the first occasion of Cæsar's invading Britain for revenge and safety, as well as conquest and glory.

Their government was like that of the ancient Gauls, of several small nations under several petty Princes, which seem the original governments of the world, and deduced from the natural force and right of paternal dominion: such were the Hords among the Goths, the Clans in Scotland, and Septs in Ireland. Whether these small British Principalities descended by succession, or were elected by the advantages of age, wisdom, or valour in the families of the Prince, is not recorded. But upon great or common dangers, the chief commander of all their forces, was chosen by common

consent in general assemblies; as Cæsar relates of Cassivelaunus against his invasion. The same was done upon their revolts against the Roman colonies, under Caractacus and Voadicea: for among them, women were admitted to their principalities and general commands, by the right of succession, nobility of birth, or eminence of other qualities.

Their forces consisted chiefly in their foot, and yet they could draw great numbers of horse into the field upon great occasions; they likewise used chariots in fight, which, with short scythes fastened to the ends of the axletrees, gave cruel wounds, great terror, made fierce charges upon the ranks of their enemies, and were of much force to break, or to disorder them. Their common arms were small shields, but very large swords, which expressed more desire of wounding their enemies than defending themselves. They were esteemed a very brave and fierce people, till their bodies came to be softned, and their courages debased by the luxury, as well as servitude, which the Romans introduced among them.

In their religion and their laws, they were wholly governed by their Druids, as were the ancient Gauls, who are said to have been furnished with the chiefest and most learned of theirs, out of Britain, esteemed the nursery of the ancient Druids, so renowned in story: these were the only persons of any sort of learning in these nations, which was derived by long tradition among them, consisted in the observation of the heavens, knowledge of the stars and their courses, and thereby the presages of many events, or at least seasons wherein the vulgar is chiefly concerned. The rest was their doctrines of religion, forms of divine worship, and instructions in morality, which consisted in justice and fortitude. Their lives were simple and innocent, in woods, caves, and hollow trees; their food,

of acorns, berries, or other mast; their drink, water; which made them respected and admired, not only for knowing more than other men, but for despising what all others valued and pursued; and by their great virtue and temperance, they were suffered patiently to reprove and correct the vices and crimes, from which themselves were free. All this together gave them such authority and veneration among the people, that they were not only the Priests, but the Judges too, throughout the nation. No laws were instituted by Princes or common assemblies, without the proposal or approbation of the Druids: no person was punished by bonds, strokes, or death, without the judgment and sentence of the Druids: from a belief, that men would never submit to the loss of their liberties, or their lives, unless they believed it was inflicted upon them by a divine authority.

One custom there was among the Britains, which seems peculiar to themselves, and not found in the stories of any other nations, either civil, or barbarous, which was a society of wives among certain numbers, and by common consent. Every man married a single woman, who was always after and alone esteemed his wife: but it was usual for five or six, ten or twelve, or more, either brothers or friends, as they could agree, to have all their wives in common: encounters happened among them as they were invited by desire or favoured by opportunity. Every woman's children were attributed to him that had married her, but all had a share in the care and defence of the whole society, since no man knew which were his own. Though this custom be alledged as a testimony how savage or barbarous a people the Britains were, yet I know not why it should appear more extravagant than the community of women in some other countries; the deflouring of virgins by the priest the first night of

their marriage; the unlimited number of wives and concubines; not to mention the marriage of sisters, among the ancient Egyptians and Athenians, and the borrowing and lending of wives among the Romans. On the other side, it may be alledged for some excuse of these our ancestors, that by such a custom they avoided the common mischiefs of jealousy, the injuries of adultery, the confinement of single marriages, the luxury and expence of many wives or concubines, and the partiality of parents in the education of all their own children: all which are considerations that have fallen under the care of many famous lawgivers. But the best excuse was made upon this occasion by a British woman (in the time of Severus) who being grown familiar with Julia Augusta, and other chief Ladies of that Court, and having observed what passed there behind the curtain, was one day reproached for this custom of the Britains, as infamous in the women as well as barbarous in the men. She answered coldly, We do that openly with the best of our men, which you do privately with the worst of yours. However it be, such were the people and the customs of Britain, when the Romans first invaded their island under the ensigns of Julius Cæsar. This famous Roman leader, then governor of Gaul, after having subdued all that province, and the bordering parts of Germany, was the first we read of with any certainty, that entered Britain with foreign arms. His forces were composed of Germans, Batavians, and Gauls, besides the best of his old Roman legions: yet in two expeditions he made into this island, he rather increased the glory, than the dominion of Rome; and gave Britain the honour of being the last triumph of that mighty republic, which had before subdued and reduced into provinces so many kingdoms and commonwealths in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The Britains with their naked troops made a brave opposition against this veteran army, in many fierce encounters, with mutual losses, and various successes; till dissention entering among the several Princes, some of them, jealous of Cassivelaunus, or his greatness, fled over to Cæsar, submitted to the Romans, and desired their protection. Others followed their example, till Cassivelaunus, weakened by these desertions, resolved likewise to make the best terms he could for himself and the rest; he sends to Cæsar, acknowledges the Roman state, agrees upon a certain tribute, and delivers hostages. And here began the fate of Britain to make way for foreign conquests by their divisions at home.

The Romans were pleased with the name of a new conquest, and glad to end an adventure with some honour, which they found was not further to be pursued without long time, and much danger; and having discovered, rather than subdued the southern parts only of the island, returned into Gaul with their whole forces, and left the Britains to their own customs, laws, and governments.

Cæsar being esteemed the best writer, as well as the greatest Captain of his age, or, perhaps, of any other; has with his own pen, left us the best account, not only of this enterprize, but of this island too, till then little known to the rest of the world.

Those tales we have of what passed there before his time, of Brute and his Trojans, of many adventures and successions, are covered with the rust of time, or involved in the vanity of fables, or pretended traditions; which seem to all men obscure or uncertain, but to me forged at pleasure, by the wit or folly of their first authors, and not to be regarded.

From the first entrance of Cæsar's triumphant arms, we have some constant light in the story of Britain, though often very weak and uncertain,

from the obscurity of those barbarous nations, who invaded the northern parts of the island; and from the ignorance of those illiterate ages, that passed from the decay to the restoration of the Greek and Roman languages and learning, in the western parts of Europe.

As the Roman conquests advanced in this island during the reigns of so many Emperors, the bravest of the natives, who could not endure that subjection, retired into the mountainous and rocky parts of Wales and Cornwall, where they preserved their liberty some time longer; but fell at last, with the rest, into the common servitude. But the greatest numbers and of the hardiest bodies, as well as courage, among the Britains, after many brave attempts for defence of their country and liberty, and many defeats by the invincible Romans, still retired northward from the encroachments of the conqueror, till they were at last beaten out into the rough and savage parts, beyond the two fryths, where the Romans afterwards built a wall. These native Britains were by them called Picts, from the custom they still retained of painting their bodies and their shields. And this I take for the most probable account of the nation so termed by the Romans (for among themselves they were called Albins); though much pains and invention has been employed by many authors, to make them a foreign race of people, who, from they know not what country, and at they know not what time, invaded and possessed Caledonia, or the northern parts of Scotland.

'Tis more difficult to find out the original of the Scots, or the time of their entrance upon those north-west regions; but as far as can be gathered out of the dust or rubbish of such barbarous times and writings, and what remains still of known appellations and events, it seems probable, that vast

numbers of a savage people, called Scyths, at some certain time, began and atchieved the conquest of the northern parts both of Britain and Ireland, and by an easy change of the words, were called Scots; and from them, those two countries were called Scotia major and Scotia minor. Whether the Scots landed first in Ireland or Scotland, I leave disputed and undetermined among their authors: but it seems agreed, that both those countries were, for some course of time, styled Scotiæ, and that both the north-west parts of Scotland, as well as Ireland, were called Ierne. I am apt to conjecture, that when these Scots seated themselves in those parts of Scotland, they divided themselves into two races or nations, whereof those who inhabited the north-east parts, called themselves Albin Scots, the name of the natives there being then Albins; and the rest who possessed the north-west parts, were called Iren-Scots, from a river of that country, which gave it the name of Ierne; and this name was communicated to all the rest of that race, who conquered and possessed the north of Ireland, which from them was styled by the Saxons Iren-land, and by abbreviation, Ireland. And the original name seems to have belonged rather to those parts of Scotland than Ireland, since it is given us by the ancientest Latin verse that mentions it, with the epithet of *glacialis Ierne*, which agrees little with the climate of Ireland.

That these fierce invaders were Scythians or Scyths (which was their vulgar termination) is probably conjectured, if not ascertained, not only from their name, but from the seat of that continent, which is nearest to the north of Scotland: this is Norway, and is the utmost western province of that vast northern region, which extends from thence to the farthest bounds of Tartary upon the eastern ocean, and was by the ancients comprehended in

that general appellation of Scythia, as well as divided into several other barbarous names and countries. Besides, it is both usual and rational, that such great transmigrations of people should be made from a worse to a better climate or soil, rather than to a worse, which makes this probable, to have proceeded from Norway, than from the lower and more fertile parts of Germany; and the island which is the nearest part of land to that continent of Norway, retains still the name of Schetland, as the first point which is reported to have been touched by the Scots, or Scyths, in this navigation.

Another argument may be drawn from several customs still remaining among the old northern Irish, which are recorded to have been anciently among some of the Scythian nations, removing their houses or creats from one place to another, according to the season: burning of their corn, instead of beating or treading in other countries: eating blood they drew from living cattle: feeding generally upon milk, and using little other husbandry, besides the pasture and breed of cattle. To this is added, that the mantle or plad, seems to have been the garment in use among the western Scythians, as they continue still among the northern Irish, and the Highland Scots.

For their language, it must be confessed, there is not left the least trace by which we may seek out the original of this nation; for it is neither known, nor recorded to have been used any where else in the world, besides Ireland, the Highlands of Scotland, and the isle of Man, and must be allowed to be an original language, without any affinity to the old British, or any other upon the continent, and, perhaps, with less mixture than any other of those original languages yet remaining in any parts of Europe. The conjecture raised of its having come

from Spain, because some Spanish words are observed in it, appears too light to be regarded, when those very words are of the modern Spanish, which is a language not above seven or eight hundred years old, and compounded chiefly out of old Roman and Gothic, with a later intrusion of the Saracen among them: and yet I know no better ground than this for the other tradition of Ireland having been anciently planted from Spain, and esteem the few Spanish words to have been introduced only by traffic of the south-west parts of Ireland to Spain.

It seems probable, that from what part soever of the continent this nation sailed upon this adventure, they were driven away by the force or fear of some other invaders, and in so great numbers, that the natives remaining, neither preserved any where their name or language, but were either destroyed by the conquerors, or blended into the mass of the new nations, who seated themselves in their country, as we find the old British to have been in England, by the conquests and inundations of the Saxons.

The time of this expedition is yet less in view; nor does Buchanan, or any other author, that I know of, pretend to tell, or so much as conjecture farther, than upon a supposition of the Scots coming first out of Ireland, without alledging any authority for that neither. I know no way of making any guesses at a matter so obscure, without recourse to the Runic learning and stories, by which we find, that the Asiatic Scythians, under the names Getes or Goths, and the conduct of Odin their Captain (their lawgiver at first, and afterwards one of their gods) are esteemed to have begun their expedition into the north-west parts of Europe, about the time that the Roman arms began first to make a great noise, and give great fears in Asia, which

was in the reigns of Antiochus first, and then of Mithridates. How long the arms of Odin and his successors were employed in the conquest and settlement of that vast kingdom, which contained all the tracts of country surrounding the Baltic sea, is not agreed upon in these Runic stories; but it is necessary, Norway must have been the last they possessed in their western progress; and I am apt to think, the Scyths may have been driven by them to seek nearer seats in our islands, and that it is probable to have been some time of the first century. Whenever it was, it seems more agreed, that after the first entrance of the Scots into Caledonia, they subdued much of the country, mingled with the rest of the native Picts, continued long to infest the frontier parts of the Roman colonies in Britain, with great fierceness, and many various events; and would possibly have made much greater noise and impressions upon the Romans, if their greater numbers had not been drawn another way, by so great a drain as that of Ireland; which they totally conquered, and long possessed.

This is the best account I have been ever able to give myself of these ancient times and events in the northern parts of our islands, being a matter that has employed so many unskilful pens in so much idle trash, and worthless stuff, as they have left upon it; but all involved in such groundless traditions and vanity of fables, so obscured by the length of time, and darkness of unlearned ages, or covered over with such gross forgeries, made at pleasure by their first inventors, that I know few ancient authors upon this subject, worth the pains of perusal, and of dividing or refining so little gold out of so much coarse ore, or from so much dross. And I have the rather made this excursion, because I have met with nothing in story more obscure, and often observed with wonder, that we

should know less of Ireland, than of any other country in Europe: for besides its having been anciently planted by the Scots, and taken their name, and then, after several centuries, been subdued, and much of it planted by the Danes; we know nothing certain of the affairs or revolutions of that island, till the English began their conquests there, under the ensigns of Henry the Second. For the Danish establishments there, we neither know the time nor the manner they either began or ended; though many monuments still remain of the towns and castles they built, and many records among some families in Denmark, of the lands and possessions they long held and enjoyed in Ireland.

I shall now return to that part of our island, which was more properly by the Romans termed Britannia, was conquered by the victorious arms, and reduced into a province by the wise institutions of that renowned nation; and having once found the end of the thread, it will be easy to wind off the bottom; and being a subject treated by so many authors, and pretty well agreed, I shall trouble myself no farther, than to continue the thread as it leads through the several revolutions that have happened in this noble island, till the last Norman period, by which the present succession and government seem to have been established, and have ever since continued.

The Roman arms entered Britain under the first and most renowned of their Emperors, which was Julius Cæsar: but it was not a quarry worth such an eagle, and so left by him to be pursued by the Lieutenants of the succeeding Emperors.

The second expedition into Britain was made by Claudius, under the conduct of Plautius, and pursued under Ostorius, and other Roman commanders, with great successes. The southern coasts, with most of the inland parts thereunto ad-

jacent, were wholly subdued and secured by fortifying camps, building castles, and planting many colonies. The rest seemed at a gaze, and to promise submissions at the first, rather than any disturbances, to the progress of the Roman arms. 'Till provoked by the oppression of some of the Prætors, and their corrupt officers, the Britains towards the north, made head under Caractacus, and continued for nine years, not only a brave defence, but threatned some fatal dangers to the Roman colonies, till in a decisive battle, by the advantage of armed and disciplined veteran soldiers, against loose troops of naked men, the Britains were totally vanquished, Caractacus taken prisoner, and sent to make a part of a famous British triumph at Rome. Yet one strong endeavour more was made for their liberty, in the time of Nero; when Paulinus going with the best part of his army to subdue the isle of Anglesey, the Britains presuming upon so great a distance between the governor and his colonies, made a general insurrection under Voadicea, fell upon the Romans in all places, took their castles, destroyed the chief seats of their power at London and Verulam, and pursued their advantages with such slaughter and revenge, that above seventy thousand Romans or their auxiliaries, were killed by the fury of this general revolt; yet Paulinus returning with his army, encountered the British forces in a set battle, overthrew their whole powers, pursued his victory with the slaughter of eighty thousand; forced Voadicea to poison herself in despair: and here ended, not only the British liberties, but their very hopes too, or any considerable attempts ever to recover them.

Under Vespasian and Domitian, Julius Agricola first discovered it to be an island, sailing round it with his fleets, and extended and pacified the

bounds of his province to the neck of land between the two fryths about Sterling and Glasgow; and returning, applied himself to the arts of peace and civil institutions, brought in the use of the Roman laws and customs, habits and arms, language and manners, baths and feasts, studies and learning: by all which he pretended to soften the minds, and change the very natures of a barbarous people, very difficult to be subdued by other means, how violent soever. This wise council, pursued by his successors in the government, succeeded so well, that the Romans had little trouble afterwards in Britain, besides the defence of their province upon the northern borders.

After these establishments, the Romans called all that part of the island lying northward from the two fryths, Caledonia, leaving the name of Britannia to the rest, which was reduced to their obedience, and from that time remained a Roman province. To defend it from the irruptions of these fierce and numerous people on the north side, Agricola began, and in some manner finished, a wall or vallum, upon that narrow space of land that lies between the two fryths or bays of the eastern and western seas, upon which Glasgow and Sterling are seated. He fortified this pass between the two points, with towers and ramparts, to make it defensible against those barbarous nations who inhabited the northern side of that country, which the Romans esteemed not worth the conquering, and provided only for security of the rest of the island. Many ruins of this vallum were lately, and for ought I know, may be still remaining; and among the rest, a small round tower built of stone, but so exactly cut, as every one to joint into another, with admirable art and firmness, though without any use of mortar or iron. And this was esteemed to have been a temple of Terminus, and

built there as the utmost bounds of the Roman province. This wall was afterwards repaired and stronger fortified by Adrian and Severus: nor is it indeed agreed by authors which of them began or finished it, and whether the last made not another vallum between the two seas more southward, and of a much greater length: but, I think, the first more probable. However, this was a defence intended and atchieved by the Romans, against those bold and brave remainders of the northern Britains, assisted by the Scots, who yet frequently invaded and infested the province, during the time the Romans held this island, which was till the reign of Honorius, and for the space of about four hundred and sixty years.

Upon the divisions in the Roman empire, which was grown a prey to their armies, and commonly disposed by their inconstant humours, the pretenders often fought their battles, and decided their quarrels in Gallia, as well several of the commanders there who arrived at the empire, as several others who fell in the pursuit of that fatal purple, and left only the name of tyrants behind them in the stories of that age. For the assistance of these factions, the British legions were at several times and occasions drawn away into Gaul, and with them great numbers of the bravest of the British youth, who were affectionate to the Roman government, and instructed in their language, manners, and discipline of their arms. As the Roman forces decreased in Britain, the Picts and Scots still the more boldly infested the northern parts, crossing the fryths, and hovering about the coasts in little boats of wicker covered with leather, filled all where they came with spoil and slaughter, till repelled by what remained of the Roman forces, they retired still into their northern nest, watching for the next occasion of invasion, and revenge

upon the neighbouring Britains, whenever the Romans were drawn away into remoter parts of the island. These enterprizes were often repeated, and as often repressed, for some time, till, in the reign of the second Valentinian, upon the mighty inundations of the barbarous northern nations, which, under the names of Goths and Vandals, invaded the Roman empire with infinite numbers, fury, and danger to Rome itself, all the Roman legions were at last drawn out of Britain, with most of the Britains that were fit for military service, to relieve the Emperor, who was pursued by the Goths into Piedmont, and there besieged in a strong passage or town he pretended to defend.

The Romans taking their last leave of this province here, left the Britains to their own government, and choice of their own Kings and leaders, with the best instructions for the exercise of their arms and discipline, and the repairs and defence of the wall, or rampart, they had raised against their northern foes. But these, finding the whole country deserted by the Roman bands, exhausted of their own bravest youth, and weakened by their new divisions, began to pour in greater numbers than ever into the northern parts, and ravaged all before them, with greater rage and fury. The poor Britains sent over their miserable epistle for relief (still upon record) to the renowned Ætius, who had by several famous successes, for a time, repelled the violence of the Gothic arms; which was addressed in these words: "To Ætius thrice "consul; The groans of the Britains;" and told him, after other lamentable complaints, "That the "barbarous people drove them to the sea, and the "sea back to the barbarous people; between which "they had only left the choice of those two "deaths, either to be killed by the one, or drown-"ed by the other." But having no hopes given

them by the Roman General, of any succours from that side, they began to consider what other nation they might call over to their relief.

The Saxons were one branch of those Gothic nations, which swarming from the northern hive, had, under the conduct of Odin, possessed themselves anciently of all those mighty tracts of land that surround the Baltic sea. A branch of these, under the name of Suevi (from whom the Baltic was of old called *Mare Suevicum*) had some time before Cæsar's wars in Gaul, invaded and subdued very large extended territories in Germany, from the coast of the north-west ocean to the south-eastern parts, whereof Suabia still retains the memory and the name. These Suevi, or Suabi, were, for their strength and valour, grown so formidable to all the German nations they had conquered, and forced to seek new seats, that those upon the Rhine sending ambassadors to Cæsar, told him, "They would neither seek war with the Romans, "nor avoid it; that they esteemed themselves as "valiant as any other nation, excepting only the "Suevi, for whom the very immortal gods were "not a match." These Suevi became afterwards divided into two several nations, and by limits agreed between them. Those towards the south-east of Germany were called Francs, from their great love of liberty, and their valour in preserving it, and never submitting to the Roman subjection, as many other German nations had done: these, upon the fatal decline of that empire, invaded Gaul, under the leading of Pharamond; and under the succeeding Kings of his race, conquered the whole province, and established that noble and ancient kingdom of France.

The other branch of the Suevi possessed themselves of all those tracts of land in Germany that lie between the Elve and the lower Rhine, had ex-

tended their seats all over the coasts of the north-west sea; and from thence exercised their arms and fierce courages, in all sorts of spoils and piracies, not only upon merchants, or traders at sea, but upon the maritime coasts of Britain, opposite to those countries about the mouth of the Rhine, or thereunto adjacent. These fierce people were called Saxons from a weapon generally used among them, and made like a scythe, with the edge reversed, which in their language were termed Seaxes.

To these Vortigern, chosen King by the deserted and afflicted Britains, made address for aid against the Picts and Scots, who had now made inroads as far as Trent. Their desires of relief, and offers of seats in Britain, were soon accepted and granted by the Saxons; who, under the conduct of Hengist and Horsa, of the race of Odin, came over with great numbers to the assistance of the Britains, in the year 450. They joined with the natives at first, as friends and allies, had the isle of Thanet assigned them at their landing; and upon occasion of greater numbers, the county of Kent for their colony and habitation. They marched against the Picts and Scots, and, in conjunction with the British arms, overthrew their forces in several battles, or encounters, with those cruel ravagers, and beat them back into the most northern parts of the province. After this, by consent of the Britains, Hengist and Horsa sent for their two sons, or near kinsmen, to come over with a new army of Saxons, by sea, into those northern parts; who seated their colony about Northumberland, upon pretence of guarding that frontier against the Picts and Scots, and their incursions upon the Britains, which they did with great bravery and successes; and thereby left those nations contented, or forced, to bound their territories with

those rough and mountainous countries that lie between the two seas, near the river Tweed, and which ever since continued as the borders between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, into which the island came afterwards to be divided.

The Province now delivered, and secured from their ancient foes, dissentions began to arise between the Britains and their new allies: the Saxons valued too high the assistance they had given, and the Britains, perhaps, too low what they had received; till the first, allured by so fair a prey, and the fertile soil of so sweet a country, inviting still greater numbers from the continent, established two Saxon kingdoms, one in the southern, and the other in the northern parts; and from both these sides invaded the Britains, who, for some time, defended themselves and their liberties, with various successes, and with the greater hatred and distinction, the Saxons being all Pagans, and the British generally Christians; which religion seems to have been planted here in the first century, but to have taken root, and spread, chiefly, under Constantius, who was long Governor of the Roman province here, a great favourer of Christianity, and father of Constantine the Great.

In the time of these first wars between the Saxons and Britains, Ambrosius reigned over the last; and either as General of his armies, or his successor in the kingdom, Arthur, so famous in the traditions, or rather in the romances of succeeding ages, and who is said to have gained twelve battles over the Saxons, and to have left the Britains in the middle of the province, for some time secure from these fierce enemies, till peace and luxury had again softened them; and by new dissentions among themselves, exposed their whole province to become an easy prey to so fierce and numerous invaders. The time of King Arthur's reign, or atchievements (if

any such there were) must have been between the years 460 and 500. But this whole story is left so uncertain, or obscure, by those poor writers, who have pretended to leave the tales, rather than the history of those times behind them, that it remains in doubt, whether to consider them as a part of the story of that or the fables of succeeding ages. Whatever there was of plain stuff, the embroidery of it, with the knights of the round table, their orders and their chivalry, and the rest of that kind, seems to have been introduced by that vein of the Spanish romances, which many ages after filled the world with so much of that idle trash; and chose for the subject of them, the adventures and successes of the first Christian, pretended, heroes, who renowned such fictitious names, by extravagant actions, or adventures, against the Pagans, or the Saracens, either in Spain or other parts of Europe and Asia. And among these, it is probable, those writers found room for the many legends of the British Arthur, and his romantic adventures against the heathen Saxons.

After the year 500, for one century, or thereabouts, the Saxon forces were employed in subduing the midland parts of Britain, interjacent between their two first established colonies, or kingdoms, in the south, or Kent, and in the north, or about Northumberland; and to furnish men for such atchievements, and the new plantation of so great tracts of country, after the conquest and devastation of the old, mighty numbers of the Saxon race came over into Britain, in several expeditions, and landing at several places: that which is recorded to have made sudden and easy way for their final conquests, was a treaty they entered into with the Britains; where, upon a parley mediated between them, three hundred of the chief of each side, agreed to meet, and conclude the treaty, in

a great plain: in the midst of talk and drink, which had part in this commerce, the Saxons provoking maliciously, and the Britains innocently resenting, fell to quarrel, first in words, and at last to blows: when the Saxons, upon a sign agreed between them, drew out short swords they had concealed under their upper garments, fell upon the unarmed Britains, slew their whole number in the field, who being the best and bravest of their nation, left the rest exposed, without heart or head, to the fury and progress of the Saxon arms. These heartened with success, and proud of so great possessions and territories, invited and allured still greater numbers of their own from abroad: who being of several branches, and from several coasts, arrived here under several names; among whom the Angles from Schonen and Jutland, swarmed over in such numbers, that they gave a new name at length, to this province, which from them was called Angleland, and for easier sound England.

The Saxons pursued their invasion with courage and fierceness, equal to the multitudes of their nation that swarmed over into this island, and with such an uninterrupted course of fortune and victories, after the year 500, that by the end of the next century, they had subdued the whole body of the province, and established in it seven several kingdoms, which were by the writers of those times, styled the heptarchy of the Saxons. They had expelled the Britains out of the fairest and best of their ancient possessions, and driven their greatest numbers, who escaped the conquerors fury, into Wales and Cornwal, countries mountainous and barren, encompassed on three sides by the sea, and towards the land of difficult access. Some great colonies of them wholly abandoned their native country to their fierce invaders, sailed over into the north-west parts of France, where possessing new

seats, they gave a new appellation to that Peninsula which preserves still the name and memory of Britain there, though, about this time, almost worn out at home.

This is the account commonly given of the British colonies first establishing themselves in that canton of Gaul: but there is another given by some learned persons of their own, and drawn, as they say, either from ancient archives, or traditions among them, and which to me seems the most probable. When upon the Roman wars in Gaul, among several pretenders to the empire, great numbers of the Britains, as well as Roman forces in that island, were drawn over to assist the contending parties: 'tis said, that very great multitudes of the British having followed the unfortunate side, retired as fast as they could to that part of the sea-coast nearest to their isle, and most likely to furnish them with ships for their transportation; but that the miseries of their native country, from the furious inroads of the Picts and Scots, so discouraged their return, that by consent of the Gauls their friends, they established themselves in the farthest north-west parts of that province, which has since that time retained their language and their name. And this agrees with the legend of King Arthur, who is said to have been a young Prince, or leader, sent from the Britains in France, to assist their countrymen here against the Saxons. Whatever the beginnings of this colony were, or at what time, it is, at least, agreed to have been much augmented by the resort of so many Britains as sought refuge there from the Saxon cruelty.

The weak and poor remainders of the old Britains, who were scattered among the Saxons in England, were wholly spoiled of their lands and goods, which were fallen under the mercy of the conquerors, who sharing them all among them-

selves, left the remaining Britains in a condition of downright servitude, used them for tilling ground, feeding cattle, and other servile works, in house or field; sometimes farming out certain parts of land to them, at certain rents or profits, but held always at the will and pleasure of the landlord. The children that were born of these miserable people, belonged to the lord of the soil, like the rest of the stock or cattle upon it; and thus began villenage in England, which lasted till the time or end of Henry the Seventh's reign.

Soon after the year 600, the Saxons in England having ended their old quarrel with the Britains, began new ones among themselves; and, according to the usual circle of human affairs, war ended in peace, peace in plenty and luxury, these in pride, and pride in contention, till the circle ended in new wars. The Saxon Princes, of the seven kingdoms they had erected in Britain, fell into emulations of one another's greatness, disputes about the bounds of their several principalities, or about successions or usurpations, pretended or exercised in one or other of them: these were followed by formal wars among them, the stronger swallowing up the weaker; and these having recourse to their neighbours, for defence against encroaching power. Many fierce encounters, sieges, battles, spoils, and devastations of country, succeeded in the progress and decision of these mutual injuries and invasions, between the Saxon Kings, for above two hundred years: but the account of them is very poorly given us, with little order or agreement of times or actions, by the few and mean authors of those barbarous and illiterate ages; and, perhaps, the rough course of those lawless times and actions, would have been too ignoble a subject for a good historian.

About the year 830, after many various events and revolutions between the several races of the

heptarchy, Ecbert, descended from the West Saxon Kings, having inherited most of the successions from the prowess and exploits of his ancestors, and acquired others by his own, became the first sole King or Monarch of England, as it now was distinguished from the principality of Wales, possessed by the old Britains, and from that part of the island to the north of Tweed, possessed by the Picts and Scots, and by the Saxons styled by one common name of Scotland.

This famous adventure of the Saxons in England, was atchieved by the force and confluence of such multitudes from the coast of Germany, which lie between the Belgic and Baltic shores, that some parts of their native countries were left almost dispeopled, to fill again by new swarms from the great northern hive, and the number of Saxons and Angles, Jutes, and other nations that came over, were not only sufficient to conquer and waste this whole province, but even to plant and people it soon again, with numerous and new inhabitants. So as by them succeeded in this island, not only a change of government, as by the Roman arms; but a change of the very people or nation, that inhabited or possessed the lands of this whole province: this induced a change likewise of names, of language, of customs, of laws, of arms, of discipline, of possessions, of titles, of religion, and even of the whole face of nature, through this whole kingdom. So as we may justly date the original of all these amongst us, as well as our nation itself, from these our Saxon ancestors: Britain, which was before a Roman province, was now grown a Saxon kingdom: and instead of its former name, was called England; the language, which was either Latin or British, was now grown wholly Saxon or English; the land that was before divided into Roman colonies or governments, was so now into

shires, with names given to them by the Saxons, as they first possessed, or afterwards thought fit to distinguish them.

The habits in peace, and arms in war, the titles of officers in both, as well as of great Counsellors to their Kings, or great proprietors of lands, came to be all according to the Saxon forms and usage. The laws of this country, which before were Roman, changed now into old Saxon customs or constitutions. Their Princes or leaders of their several nations, became Konings or Kings of the territories they had subdued. They reserved part of the lands to themselves for their revenue, and shared the rest among their chief commanders, by great divisions, and among their soldiers by smaller shares. The first, who had the great divisions, were called Earls or Barons; those of the smaller were Knights; and the smallest of all were Freemen, who possessed some proportions of free lands, and were thereby distinguished from the Villens, that held nothing but at the will of the land-lord.

In this universal transformation, religion itself had a share, like all the rest, and received new forms and orders, with the new inhabitants, whilst all that was Roman or British, expired together in this country: the Britains began early to receive the Christian faith, and, as is reported, from some of the disciples themselves: and this was so propagated among them, that when the Romans left the province, they were generally Christians, and had their Priests and Bishops from that ancient and apostolic institution. The Saxons were a sort of idolatrous Pagans, that worshipped several gods peculiar to themselves, among whom Woden, Thor, and Frea were the chief, which left their memories still preserved by the common names of three days in the week: this religious worship they introduced with them and continued long in England, till they subdued the Britains, reduced it under

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their heptarchy of Saxon Kings, persecuted the British Christians, and drove them with their religion, into Wales, where they continued under their primitive Priests and Bishops, who, with their Monks, were all under the surintendance of one Arch-priest or Bishop of Carleon, the bound of the British principality. About the year 600, Pope Gregory sent Austin the Monk to preach the Gospel in England to the heathen Saxons, who landing at Dover, was received with humanity by Ethelbert, King of the South Saxons; and being admitted, with four or five of his companions, as well meaning men, to teach and explain the doctrine and mysteries of Christianity, among these ignorant and barbarous people, they so well succeeded, that they converted at first great numbers of the common sort, and at length the King himself, whose example gave easy way for introducing the Christian faith into his whole kingdom, which from thence spread into all the countries subject to the Saxon heptarchy. Thus religion came to be established in England, under the rites and forms, and authority of the Roman church; by which Austin was instituted chief Bishop in England, and seated by the Saxon King at Canterbury. But his jurisdiction, though admitted in all the Saxon territories, was not received by the British priests or people in Wales, though endeavoured by many missions from Austin and his successors, and even by wars and persecution of the Saxons, upon the old British Christians, at the instigation of the new Romish priests, in one of which, near Carleon, twelve hundred of the poor British monks are said to have been slaughtered, while they were apart in the field at their prayers for the success of the British army.

With this account of a new face and state of persons and of things, both natural, civil, and religious, established in England, I return to the period I

left, of the Saxon heptarchy, which being extinguished by long and various revolutions among themselves, made way for the reign of Ecbert, the first sole King or Monarch of England, about the year 830.

It might have been reasonably expected, that a wise and fortunate Prince, at the head of so great a dominion, and so brave and numerous a people, as the English, after the expulsion of the Picts and Scots out of his country into the rough northern parts, and of the Britains into the north-west corners of the island, should not only have enjoyed the fruits of peace and quiet, but left much felicity, as well as greatness, to many succeeding generations, both of Prince and people. Yet such is the instability of human affairs, and the weakness of their best conjectures, that Ecbert was hardly warm in his united throne, when both he and his subjects began to be alarmed and perplexed at the approach of new and unknown enemies, and this island exposed to new invasions.

About this time, a mighty swarm of the old northern hive, who had possessed the seats about the Baltic (almost deserted by such numbers of Goths, Vandals, and Saxons, as had issued out of them some centuries before) began, under the names of Danes and Normans, to infest at first the sea, and at length the lands of the Belgic, Gallic, and British shores, filling all where they came with slaughters, spoils, and devastations. The Normans first over-ran the Belgic provinces upon the mouth of the Rhine, and gave new names of Holland and Zealand to those parts adjacent to the sea: afterwards they sailed with mighty numbers into the mouth of the Sein, and with great fierceness subdued that northern part of France, which from them first received, and ever since retained, the name of Normandy, and became the State of a

great Norman Duke, and his successors, for several generations.

In the mean time, the Danes began their inroads and furious invasions upon the coasts of England, with mighty numbers of ships, full of fierce and barbarous people, sometimes entering the Thames, sometimes the Humber, other times coasting as far as Exeter, landing wherever they found the shores unguarded, filling all with ravage, slaughter, spoil, and devastations of the country; where they found any strong opposition, retiring to their ships, sailing home laden with spoil; and by such encouragements, giving life to new expeditions the next season of the year. The bravest blood of the English had been exhausted in their own civil wars, during the contentions of the heptarchy; since those ended, the rest were grown slothful with peace and with luxury, softened with new devotions of their priests and their monks, with penances and pilgrimages, and great numbers running into cloisters, and grown as unequal a match now for the Danes, as the British had been for the Saxons before. Yet this century passed not without many various successes between the two nations, many victories and many defeats on both sides; so that twelve battles are said to have been fought between them in one year. The Danes divided their force into several camps, removed them from one part of the country to another, as they were forced by necessity of provisions, or invited by hopes of new spoils, or the weakness and divisions of the English: at length, fortified posts and passages, built castles for defence of borders one against the other, which gave the beginning to those numerous forts and castles that were scattered over the whole country, and lasted so long, as to remain, many of them, to this very age. The English sometimes repulsed these invasions, sometimes purchased the safety of

their provinces by great sums of money, which occasioned great exactions of their Kings upon the people, and that great discontents; while the Danes increasing still, by new supplies of numbers and force, began to mingle among the inhabitants of those parts they had subdued, made truces and treaties, and thereupon grew to live more peaceably under the laws and government of the English Kings. Alfred, to prevent the danger of new invasions, began to build ships for the defence of his coasts; and Edgar, a Prince of great wisdom and felicity in his reign, applying all his thoughts to the increase and greatness of his naval forces, as the true strength and safety of his kingdom, raised them to that height, both of numbers and force, and disposed them with that order, for the guard of the seas round the whole island, as proved not only sufficient to secure his own coasts from any new invasions, but the seas themselves from the rovers and spoilers of those northern nations, who had so long infested them; so that all traders were glad to come under his protection: which gave a rise to that right, so claimed by the Crown of England to the dominion of the seas, about the year 960.

But these provisions for the safety of the kingdom, began to decline with the life of Edgar, and neglected in the succeeding reigns, made way for new expeditions of the Danes, who exacted new tribute from the Kings, and spoils from the subjects; till Ethelred, compounding with them for his own safety, and their peaceable living in England, and fortifying himself by an alliance with Richard Duke of Normandy, laid a design for the general massacre of the Danes, spread abroad and living peaceably throughout the realm, which was carried on with that secrecy and concurrence of all the English, that it was executed upon one day,

and the whole nation of the Danes massacred in England about the year 1002.

This cruel and perfidious massacre of so many thousands, instead of ending the long miseries of this kingdom from the violences, invasions, and intrusions of the Danes, made way for new and greater calamities than before: for Swane King of Denmark, exasperated by the slaughter of his nation here, and among them of his own sister, and animated by the successes of so many private expeditions; soon after landed with great forces, formed several camps of Danes in several parts of England, filled all with spoil and slaughter, forced Ethelred to fly for relief into Normandy; and though he returned again, yet being a weak and cruel Prince, and thereby ill beloved, and ill obeyed by his subjects, he never recovered strength enough to oppose the forces and numbers of the Danes, to whom many of the English nobles, as well as commoners, had in his absence submitted.

Swane died before he could atchieve this adventure; but left his son Canute in a course of such prosperous fortunes, and the English so broken or divided, that coming out of Denmark with new forces in two hundred ships, he reduced Edmund son of Ethelred, first to a division of the whole kingdom between them, and after his untimely death, was by the whole Nobility of the realm acknowledged and received for King of England. This fierce Prince cut off some of the royal line, and forced others into exile, reigned long, and left the Crown for two successions to his Danish race, who all swore to govern the realm by the laws which had been established, or rather digested, by Edward the First, and Edgar, out of the old Saxon customs and constitutions. But Hardecnute, last of the Danish Kings, dying suddenly at a feast, in the year 1042, left the race so hated, by the im-

position and exaction of several tributes upon his people, that Edward, surnamed The Confessor, and grandson to Edgar, coming out of Normandy, where he had been long protected, found an easy accession to the Crown, by the general concurrence both of Nobles and people, and with great applause restored the Saxon race in the year 1043.

Thus expired not only the dominion, but all attempts or invasions of the Danes in England; which though continued and often renewed, with mighty numbers, for above two hundred years, yet left no change of laws, customs, language, or religion, nor other traces of their establishments here, besides the many castles they built, and many families they left behind them, who, after the accession of Edward the Confessor to the Crown, wholly submitting to his government, and peaceably inhabiting, came to incorporate, and make a part of the English nation, without any distinction.

Edward the Confessor reigned long, reduced the laws of Edward, Alfred, and Edgar's reigns into more form and order, and governed by them. His wars were successful both in Scotland and Wales, though managed by his leaders, and without his presence. But being a Prince of a soft and easy nature, he gave way to the growing power and arrogance of Earl Godwin and his sons, who had been the chief instruments of advancing him to the throne, upon the condition of marrying Earl Godwin's daughter. After he was settled in the kingdom, either upon gratitude or inclination to the people and customs of a country where he had lived long, and been well received when he was banished from his own; he invited many of his Norman friends into England, employed them in his greatest offices either of church or state, and upon some quarrels between them and the English, expressed too much partiality to the Normans: this

gave Godwin and his son Harold occasion or pretence of raising and heading great discontents of the English against the Norman favourites, and at last insurrections against the King; who, soft in his nature, devout in his temper, and now declining in his age, endeavoured rather to appease these troubles by articles than by arms, and thereby left Harold too powerful for a subject, and aspiring to the Crown. Edward had no children; and though he seemed desirous to leave the Crown to his nephew, yet, distrusting his weakness to defend it against so powerful a rival, it does not appear, or is not agreed among authors, whether he made any disposition of it at his death, or no; or whether any such, at least, as was afterwards pretended.

Harold alledged, that he was appointed by Edward the Confessor to succeed him, was believed by some, and allowed by more, who followed his power, rather than his right, and was immediately after the King's death, elected or admitted to the Crown.

His first trouble was from his own brother, who being the elder, had obtained assistance from Norway, to set up a title or pretence to the kingdom, though he could have no other, but that his brother had usurped it. Harold having marched into the North, overthrown his brother and his army of strangers or discontents, with great slaughter, at Stamford, was suddenly recalled by a more dangerous and fatal storm from the South. For William Duke of Normandy, surnamed The Conqueror, was landed at Hastings with a mighty army of stout Norman soldiers, to pursue a right he pretended to the succession of the Crown after the death of Edward. What this was, is but obscurely proved or defended. But the pretext was, that Edward had by testament left him successor of the Crown; and that Harold while he was last in

Normandy, had likewise assured him of his assistance to advance him to the kingdom upon the death of the King; and the Duke therefore sent to put him in mind of that engagement. But Harold was in possession, and admitting neither of these claims, resolved to defend well what he had gotten ill, since the apparent right was in Edgar Atheling, descended from the true Saxon race, and from a brother of Edward the Confessor. To decide these disputes between the two powerful pretenders (while the just right lay unregarded for want of force to support it) a fierce and bloody battle was fought near Hastings, which continued for a whole day, with great bravery and slaughter on both sides; but ended with the death of Harold, most of the bravest captains, and above sixty thousand soldiers of the English nation, who resolved to defend a domestic usurper against a foreign invader; and by the loss of their lives made easy way for the undisputed succession of William the Conqueror to the Crown of England, about the year 1066, or, as some account, 1068.

This Norman Prince was natural son of Robert the sixth Duke of Normandy, by Arlette, a very beautiful virgin of Falaize, with whom he fell in love, as she stood gazing at her door, whilst he passed through that town: so that he was the issue of a sudden and strong inclination; like a noble plant, raised in a hot bed, which gave it such force and vigour, as made it prosper and grow to so great a height: nor is it unlikely, that the ancient heroes derived themselves from some gods, to cover the misfortunes or follies, the rapes or loves of some fair maidens, or else the passions of some frail wives, who loved a gallant better than a husband: and the force of such encounters might have part in the constitution of a young hero, and give a natural vigour, spirit, and lustre to the children,

from the flames wherein they were conceived. 'Tis certain, this young conqueror owed his greatness to his birth, and his fortunes to his personal merit, from the strength of his temper and vigour of his mind: for he had a body of iron, as well as a heart of steel; yet his intellectuals were, at least, equal to his other natural advantages; and he appears as wise in his politic institutions, as he was bold in his enterprizes, or brave and fortunate in the atchievement of his great adventures.

His father Robert growing old, fell into a fit of devotion, frequent enough in that age; which made him resolve upon a visit to the holy sepulchre: his Nobles used all arguments they could to dissuade him, but chiefly from the want of lawful issue, and the competition like to arise upon his death, between several great pretenders, which might prove dangerous to his country, and perhaps fatal to the Norman State. But he persisted in the design of his journey, and told them he had a young son, that he believed certainly to be his own, and of whose person and disposition he had great hopes, and therefore resolved to leave him his successor in the duchy; recommended him to their care and loyalty, and appointed the King of France to be his guardian, and the duke of Britain his governor, who was one of the fairest pretenders to the succession of that duchy, after the failing of Robert's line: an unusual strain or testimony of the good faith and meaning of that age, where honour was so much more in request than interest, that such a Prince could trust a son of reproached birth and disputed right, to a powerful neighbour, the likeliest to invade him, and to a pretender that stood the fairest to contest his title.

The Prince was not above nine or ten years old, when Duke Robert caused his Nobles and chief Norman subjects, to swear fealty to him, and after-

wards carried him to do homage to Henry I. King of France, for the duchy of Normandy, according to the custom of the former Dukes, since their first accords with that Crown, after their conquests and establishments in that part of France, which was before called Neustry, and took the name of Normandy from those fierce invaders: these coming from the coasts of Norway, in two several expeditions, with mighty numbers of a brave, but barbarous people, had, about two hundred years before, first ravaged the coasts of Holland and Flanders, then entered the mouth of the Sein, subjected the country by unresisted arms; then taking the city of Rouen, capital of that province, upon composition, and made inroads from thence into the isle of France, and near Paris itself, with such fury and success, that the King of France, embroiled then at home, thought fit to tame these lions, rather than longer to oppose them, and threw them that noble and fruitful morsel of Normandy, to assuage their hunger; yielding it up wholly to their leader Roul, upon conditions of his turning Christian, and his holding that duchy from the Crown of France, for him and his successors.

After these ceremonies were passed of the homages received in Normandy, and given in France, the old Duke Robert delivered his young son himself into the hands and tutelage of the French King, upon the confidence of great services he had formerly done him, in disputes about the Crown; and immediately after these transactions, began his voyage into Asia, where he lived not long, and left his son to be the founder of his own fortunes, rather than heir of his father's; which he found exposed to all sorts of dangers from the tenderness of his age, the reproach of his birth, a suspected guardian, a disputed title, and a distracted state.

After the news of Duke Robert's decease, the

Nobles of Normandy by him intrusted with the government during his son's minority, found themselves soon involved in many difficulties, by the open factions of some Nobles, who envied their greatness; and by the private practices of others, who being derived from some of the former Dukes, resolved to set up their pretences to the succession, but masqued their designs at first, and herded with the common discontents, against the present administration. The Governors, faithful to the trust reposed in them by the father, and the fealty they had sworn to the son, esteemed the presence of the young Prince necessary to support their authority and his title, and thereupon prevailed with the King of France to send him into Normandy; which he did accordingly, with great honour to himself, and kindness to the young Duke, as well as satisfaction to all his loyal subjects; but to the disappointment of those, who pretended their discontents rather against the Governors, than the succession.

No Prince ever came so early into the cares and thorns of a crown, nor felt them longer, engaged in difficulties and toils, in hardships and dangers; his life exposed to the arms of enemies, the plots of assassins; his reign embroiled by the revolts of his subjects, the invasions of his neighbours, and his whole life, though very long, spent in the necessary and dangerous defence of his own title and dominion, or in the ambitious designs of acquiring greater: yet none ever surmounted all with more constancy of mind, prudence of conduct, and felicity of fortune. By all which, he seems born to have been rather a great Prince, than a happy man.

His first contests and dangers, arose from the declared competition of the pretenders to the succession of the duchy, who, favoured by the defects of his birth, and grounding their title upon their

own legitimate descent, found so many followers at home, and such assistance from some neighbouring Princes, that, agreeing together against the present possessor, though disputing among themselves upon their own rights, they raised great forces, and constrained the young Duke to appear, not only at the head of his councils, but of his armies too, by that time he was full seventeen years old.

These civil wars continued long, with many various successes, bloody encounters, defeating and recruiting of troops, surprising, sacking, besieging, relieving of towns, and wasting of countries; till at last, the Duke, by his vigilance, prudence, courage, and industry, subdued totally, not only the forces, but the hearts of all his competitors and enemies at home, and forced them to quit both Normandy and France, and seek new fortunes, or at least protection, in Italy, under the banners and service of those northern Princes, who had first, by assisting their friends, and then pursuing their own fortunes, made themselves masters of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. So great was the prowess and conduct of those brave Norman adventurers, that from Truhans, as the French called them, because they could not stay at home, but left their own country, to seek room in foreign and distant regions, they became possessors and sovereigns, in less than two hundred years, of one noble duchy in France, a great kingdom in the best parts of Italy, and a greater yet, and more renowned, in the British isle, and thereby exchanged the savage woods, and barren mountains of Norway, for three of the fruitfullest, fairest, and most pleasant countries in the western parts of Europe, and which had been observed, both before and since, to produce the bravest bodies and courages of any provinces among their neighbour nations.

The defeats and final overthrow of competitors at home, gave Duke William no long quiet; for another appeared from abroad, more dangerous than any of the former: this was Martel Earl of Anjou, that was not only a Prince of great possessions, but yet more formidable, by the alliance and assistance of the King of France, who, jealous of the Norman greatness, thought it both wise and just, to prevent its farther growth, and abate a neighbour's power, before it grew too high, and, perhaps, out of his reach, by the conduct, ambition, and fortune of such an aspiring Prince.

To this end, and upon small pretences (which never fail a strong invader) he encouraged, if not set on foot, the Earl of Anjou's pretensions to the duchy of Normandy, gave him first his countenance and assistance, to justify his claim, and pursued it by arms, but, by degrees, engaged in an open and declared war against the Duke: this he prosecuted with much passion and violence, employing in it not only all the forces he could raise, but his own person to command them, attended by many, the chief nobles of his kingdom, and many great persons of his allies.

Duke William lost nothing of his temper or courage, upon the approaches of so great a storm, but prepared first for his defence; till flushed with success in many encounters, and trusting to the bravery and affections of his army, though much inferior to the French, he brought the quarrel to the decision of two fierce battles in two pitched fields: the first ended in an entire victory on the Duke's side, with the slaughter of three parts of his enemies, amounting to above thirty thousand men. This loss, however, rather inraged, than discouraged the King of France, who gave himself or his enemies no quiet, till he engaged the Normans in a second battle, with greater forces and rage on

both sides, but with the same success the former had ended. In this field the King of France lost the flower of his army, the greatest part of his Nobles, and hardly escaped himself in person. But that little availed this unfortunate Prince, who was so sensible of the loss, and, as he thought, dishonour, received by so unequal a match, that he had not the heart to survive it long, but died of grief, and thereby gave an end to this war, and left Duke William a calm and peaceable reign, till he disturbed his own and his neighbour's quiet, by new and greater adventures. But to discover their causes, and judge better of the events, we must have recourse to the accidents of the former reigns, both in England and Normandy, and the great commerce and intelligences that were thereby grown, for many years past, between these two Courts and nations.

Edward, for his piety surnamed The Confessor, the last King of the Saxon race in England, had, by the persecution of his enemies under the reign of Hardecnute the Dane, been forced to leave England, and seek shelter in Normandy, where he was kindly received, nobly entertained by the Duke, lived long there with many English, who adhered to his right, followed his fortunes, and shared in the causes and reliefs of his banishment: some found employments, others alliances, all, favour and kind reception in Normandy. These mutual good offices produced so much kindness between the givers and receivers, that it is by some writers reported, King Edward, during his residence in the Norman Court, promised Duke Robert, that in case he recovered the kingdom of England, and died without issue, he would leave him the Crown. The first happening, and Edward restored by the power of Earl Godwin, or rather the general discontents of the English against the Danish race and

government, it is certain, King Edward, after his restoration, or rather first accession to the Crown, ever appeared more favourable and partial to the Normans, than was well resented by his English subjects in general; but Earl Godwin and his son Harold were so offended, that they made it the cause or pretence of a dangerous insurrection, and were forced, upon the ill success thereof, to leave the kingdom, and fly into Flanders, though after restored and received by the King, rather by force than any free and willing consent.

Duke William, after the end of his wars with France, had turned his thoughts to the common arts and entertainments of peace, regulating the abuses of his state, and the disorders introduced by a long course of wars and violence, adorning his palaces and houses of pleasure, building churches and abbies, and endowing them with great bounty and piety: after which he made a journey into England, where he was received and entertained by King Edward, with the same kindness himself had found in the Norman Court; for which, like a good Prince, he was much pleased to make this return of gratitude, as well as justice. In this visit, it is said by some authors, that the Duke gained so far upon the esteem and kindness of the King, that he then renewed to the son in England, the promise he had formerly made the father in Normandy, of leaving him the Crown by testament, in case he died without issue.

Some time after the Duke's return, Harold son to Earl Godwin, and heir of his great possessions and dependances in England, was forced by a storm (as he at least pretended) upon the coasts of Normandy; and to refresh himself after the toils and dangers of his sea voyage, went first to the Norman Court, and after some stay there, to that of France; and was in both entertained like a person

known to be of so great consideration and power in England. But his last visit at Paris, was thought designed only to cover the true intention of his first in Normandy; where he engaged to assist that Duke with all his friends and force, in his claim to the Crown of England, upon King Edward's death; which happening not long after, William claimed the Crown by virtue of a testament from that King, and of an engagement from Harold. But he, on the contrary, denied any such testament from the deceased Prince; alledged an appointment made by him at his death for Harold to succeed him; disowned any promise made in favour of the Duke, and making the best use of the credit and authority gained by his father and himself, in a crazy and diseased state, during the soft reign of a weak, though pious, King; Harold set up boldly for himself, without any respect of right, beyond the people's submission (interpreted for their consent), and was elected King by those Nobles and Commons of his friends, or indifferent persons, who assembled at his coronation; leaving to Edgar Atheling an undoubted, but yet unregarded right of succession; and to William, a disputed plea, from the alledged testament of the deceased King.

The Duke, fond of those ambitious hopes he had framed early, and nourished long, and spighted at the perfidious dealing of Harold towards him, and his insolence towards the English nation, in seizing the King and government, against all justice, or so much as pretence of right (which is commonly made use of to cover the most lawless actions) assembles his estates of Normandy, exposes to them his claim to England; the wrong done him by Harold; his resolutions of prosecuting both with his utmost power; the glory as well as justice of the enterprize; the hopes of success from his own right; and the hatred in England of the usurper,

as well as the friends and intelligences he had in that kingdom; the greatness of spoils and possessions, by the conquest of his enemies; and the share he intended his friends and followers, according to each man's merit and contribution towards the advancement of his designs.

Though the generality of the Normans in this assembly, were not at first very much moved by these discourses, as either doubting the right or success of so hazardous an adventure, yet they could not discourage what they were unwilling to promote, since they found the Prince had it so much at heart; who prevailed with several of the greatest Bishops and Nobles of Normandy, to make him a voluntary offer of what moneys, men, and ships they would each of them furnish towards this enterprize, as well as of their own personal attendance upon him, in so noble and just a design.

This free and magnanimous offer of the greatest among them, in some degree spirited not only the rest of the assembly, but had much influence upon the people in general, who grew confident of the success, from the greatness and boldness of the undertakers, so as they fell into emulation, who should engage soonest, and contribute farthest upon this occasion.

The Duke, assisted to his expectation by his subjects, began to practise upon the hopes and ambition of his neighbours, who weary of the long quiet they had lived in at home, since the part they had taken in the French and Norman wars, began to grow fond of some new action, and to look out for new adventures.

The Duke had gained and deserved so high esteem and general reputation, by the wise conduct of his government, both in peace and in war, by his justice and bounty, his valour and his clemency, that he was renowned not only among his subjects

and his neighbours, but in the remoter regions of Germany and Italy; and found a concurrence in this design from many Princes his friends, and some who had been his greatest enemies: he was favoured and assisted with money, or with soldiers, by the Dukes of Britain and of Brabant, the Counts of Bologne and Flanders, and his ancient competitor the Earl of Anjou: by many Princes of France, the most considered in that Court; as, the Duke of Orleans, Earls of Poitou and Maine, excited by the honour of the enterprize, or fame of the leader, at a time when the infancy of their King gave them no hopes of action at home, and left that Crown unconcerned in what passed abroad. The Emperor sent some choice troops, and experienced commanders, to serve in this expedition; and the Pope, induced by the fame of the Duke's great virtues, and piety, in the whole course of his reign, which had now lasted above forty years, sent him a banner he had blessed, with several relicts; and thereby was esteemed, according to the devotion of those times, to have justified his title, and even sanctified his arms.

With all these advantages, this brave Duke began and finished his mighty preparations, by a general concurrence of his own Nobles and subjects, and a confluence of most of the bold adventurous spirits in his neighbour provinces, led by the desires of glory or of gains: the Princes trusted his faith and his promises, which he had never forfeited: the Knights and soldiers relied upon his valour and his fortune, which had never failed in the long and happy course of his reign.

What the number was of the army he brought over into England, is not distinctly related, or well agreed; but must be concluded to have been very great, by that of the ships wherein they were embarked, which were between eight and nine hun-

dred: besides, they were all chosen and brave troops, excellently disciplined, commanded by gallant officers, strongly united by the love of their Prince, and encouraged by the common hatred of Harold his enemy, both at home and abroad: a known usurper, cruel in his nature, of Danish extraction, and thereby ungrateful to the English; a hater of his own blood, and who had never triumphed, but over his own brother; and by a bloody victory at Stamford, had lost the bravest of his troops, as he had done before the hearts of his subjects.

The Duke landed his army at Hastings in Sussex, about the beginning of October; and expecting a general submission of the English to his right and title (pretended from the testament of Edward the Confessor) or the desertion of Harold (as an usurper) by his own army: he made at first no shew of invading a hostile country, but rather of encamping in his own: forbidding all injuries to any of the inhabitants, and all spoil of the country about him: and so continued, with his whole army, in a quiet and peaceable manner, for about a fortnight, either to refresh his troops, or to expect how his claim to the Crown, and arrival upon it, would be received in England.

But after this time expired, he was soon rouzed by the approach of Harold, who returned from the defeat of his brother, and his Danish assistants, with all the forces he had employed in that expedition, and all he could invite or collect out of the country as he passed. The first were standing troops, numerous and brave, which he kept for the defence of his person and title, knowing they were both generally hated in England. The last were ill-disciplined, and worse affected, and served only to increase the number of his army, which was very great.

Upon approach of his enemies, he sent spies into

the Norman camp, who were taken and courteously used by the Duke; carried through all his troops, shewed their discipline and disposal, and sent back with rewards. At their return they told Harold, that the Normans looked rather like an army of priests, than of soldiers, by their great silence and order in their camp, as well as by their faces being all shaved.

It is said, the Duke before the battle, sent an offer to Harold, to decide the quarrel between them by single combat, and thereby spare their subjects blood; which Harold refused, and said, he would leave it to God to determine. Upon which, his brother desired him, that he would not be present at the battle, because he had formerly sworn to Duke William to assist his title upon King Edward's death; and rather leave it to them, who had a juster cause; and should fight only for defence of their country, and without breach of oath. But the courage of Harold was more than his conscience, and so both parties disposed their armies for a pitched battle next morning, after the English had passed the night in songs and feasting, and the Normans in much devotion.

The fight began with great fury, and equal bravery, as well as order, on both sides. The English were cruelly gauled by thick showers of arrows from the Norman long-bows, before the battle joined; which was a weapon then unused in England, and thereby the more surprizing, by wounds coming from enemies so far out of reach, and not suddenly to be revenged. But when they came up to close fight, the Normans were hewed down by the English bills, which of all weapons, gives the most ghastly and deplorable wounds. Besides, their points were so strong and so close together, that no charges of the Norman horse could break the English ranks, though the Duke assaulted them so often, and with

so great bravery, that he had three horses killed under him in the attempt. But finding them continue firm, he at length, by a signal, caused a sudden flight to be feigned, by his Normans that were more advanced: upon which, the English, easily deceived by their own courage, as well as hopes, began such an eager pursuit, as by it they dissolved their ranks, that had been otherwise impenetrable. Upon this incident, before expected, and soon discovered by the Duke, and upon another signal given, the Normans returned with greater fury than before; broke into the disordered body of the English, routed and pursued them to a rising-ground; where their broken forces made a stand, fell again into order, and, encouraged by the speeches, but more by the brave example of Harold, they renewed the fight, and made a mighty slaughter of the Normans, as they endeavoured to force them against the disadvantage of the hill which they defended.

The fierceness and obstinacy of this memorable battle, was often renewed by the courage of the leaders, where-ever that of the soldiers began to faint: till the Normans leaving the assault of the hill, too obstinately defended, and keeping a little distance, fell again to their arrows, with one of which Harold was shot quite through the head, and fell to the ground: and by his death gave the victory and the field to the Normans, which had hitherto continued doubtful on both sides; and seemed thus far to have been fought with equal courage, and with equal loss. But the flight of the English, upon Harold's fall, soon determined it, and was followed by a long and bloody pursuit of the Normans, which lasted till night, and left mighty numbers of the English slain in the flight, that had been safe in the battle; and the rest of them wholly dispersed, though covered by the night: so different

are the effects of courage and of fear, and so just the rewards of both; the first, which seeks dangers, often avoids them; the other often runs into them, by endeavouring to escape them: much greater numbers falling in all battles, by the pursuit of those that fly, than by the slaughter of those that fight.

Nothing seems to shew the greatness of England so much at this time, as that Harold should be able to assemble so mighty an army to oppose this invasion; and find above threescore thousand men, brave enough not only to fight, but to lose their lives in his defence: for so many are agreed to have been slain of the English at this battle of Hastings; where he lost his Crown and his life together; and left the field, with the kingdom, to this brave Norman conqueror. This was the man, these the forces, and such the circumstances that contributed to so famous an enterprize; by which the fate of England was determined, in or about the year 1066.

The Duke, after this famous victory, resolved not to lose the fruits and advantages he had thereby gained (which is often done) for want of speed or vigour in the prosecution, wherein celerity is sometimes of more consequence than force. Therefore, after the pursuit of his broken enemies, and a short refreshment of his own army, he began immediately his march towards London, where was all the strength then left in the kingdom; believing, if he could be master of the head, the rest of the body would follow, without more struggle or resistance.

In his march he is said to have exercised much cruelty towards all he found in arms, with great rigour and oppression upon the other inhabitants, and spoil of the countries where he passed; till entering into a woody part of Kent, and advancing with his vanguard before the rest of his army, he

found himself almost environed with mighty numbers of the Kentishmen, who had concealed themselves in the wood, by carrying every man a great bough of a tree, like a shield in his hand. But when they saw the Norman troops, and the Duke at the head of them, within their danger, they began on a sudden to march, like a moving wood, till approaching their enemies, they threw down their boughs, and discovered on all sides a multitude of brave armed men, ready to charge the Normans, that stood surprized and amazed at the strangeness of the sight, which appeared as if a wood had been, by some enchantment, transformed into an army; but the Kentishmen approaching, made a halt, and sent the Abbot of St. Austin's to tell the Duke, that all the men of that province were there assembled, to defend their country and their liberties, or to sell their lives as dear as they could; that if he would swear to preserve them in those ancient laws and customs, under which they and their ancestors had so long lived, they were all ready to lay down their arms, and become his subjects; if not, he must prepare to fight with men that had resolved to lose their lives, rather than their liberties and laws. The Duke finding he was too far advanced to join the body of his army before he engaged, and unwilling to venture all his fortunes and hopes against such numerous bands as these appeared, and of so desperate men, granted to all the inhabitants of the province of Kent, the preservation and free enjoyment of all their ancient laws and customs under the Saxon reigns, swore the observance of his grant, received their homage, and so pursued his march. This is represented as a forced prelude to a subsequent voluntary act of this Prince, whereby he made or confirmed the same concession, in general to all the rest of the kingdom. And though this adventure of the Kentishmen be

not recorded with great evidence of truth, or agreement of circumstances, or of time (for some writers place it before his first arrival at London, others after, and upon an expedition to reduce the castle of Dover) yet it is related by so many authors, and is so generally received by vulgar tradition, that it seems not to be omitted: but when, or however it happened, or whether at all or no, is not material to the history of this Prince, or to the following actions or institutions of his reign.

In the city of London, besides the great numbers, and riches of the inhabitants, were retired most of the great Nobles of the kingdom, both ecclesiastical and secular, who had not been engaged in action of either side; and attended what would be the issue of this strong and violent convulsion of the State. Upon decision of the last battle, they all consulted together with the citizens, what was best to be advised and done for their common interest and safety, as well as of the whole kingdom; which was like to run their fate, by following their example. Many of the secular Nobles were for collecting what forces they could, and making a stand, either in the field, or in the town; and thereby trying their fortunes, or, at the worst, making conditions; for they could not bear that their great possessions and lands should lie at the mercy of a Prince, whose will might be as boundless as his power, and who had so great a train to be rewarded at their cost, and by the spoils, if he pleased, of the whole kingdom.

The citizens feared the hostile entrance of an incensed army, upon a weak resistance, and the sudden loss of their possessions, which consisting chiefly in moveables, might be seized in a day, and dissipated, past any recovery, by the very grace of the Prince, or succeeding composition between him and the rest of the kingdom: they thought no

forces could be collected, either in time, upon so sudden an approach, or with strength enough to make opposition, in a body that had lost so much blood, and without a head to command them, or, upon any treaty, to manage their common interests to the best advantage; and so they were disposed to submit to what they esteemed the fate of the kingdom. The Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of the clergy, were a sort of state apart, within the state itself, having a jurisdiction independent (as they pretended, and were usually allowed in that age) upon the secular power; they held their lands and possessions in the kingdom, by another tenure than the laity pretended, and feared not to lose them under any Prince that was a Christian, which made them more indifferent of what race, or by what title he held the Crown; and so more easy to fall in with the stream of any changes or new revolutions: besides they were possessed with the fame of this Prince's piety, and the opinion of his right having been determined by the Pope's approving and assisting it with his benediction. They thought, as well as the citizens, that this torrent was not to be resisted; that a faint and fruitless opposition would but exasperate the Duke, and make him continue, as well as begin his reign, like a conqueror; and therefore esteemed the wisest part was, to acknowledge his right, and thereby tempt or persuade him into a safer and easier form of government, both for himself and his subjects, as a just and lawful King.

The clergy was in very great authority at this time, and among all sorts of people in the kingdom, having enjoyed and exercised it here, during the whole course of the Saxon reigns, after those Kings became Christians in this island; nor could any other authority rise so high, and spread so far, as growing from so many roots: they were allowed to

be the guides and instructors of mankind in all spiritual worship and divine service, and even the dispensers of those graces and forfeitures upon which depended the rewards or punishments of a future state; which being greater and longer than those of this life, gave them more influence upon the minds of men, than any secular jurisdiction that can extend no farther: they had mighty possessions in lands throughout the kingdom, as well as other riches, from the bounty of pious Princes, or devout and innocent people, and from many others, who thought to expiate crimes, or cover ill lives, by these kinds of donation to the church. These possessions were esteemed sacred, and, as much went into this stock every age, so nothing ever went out; and all the lands in the kingdom might, in the course of ages, have held of the church, if this current had not been stopped by the statute of Mortmain in the time of Edward the First. It is recorded, that of sixty two thousand knights fees, that were reckoned in England during the reign of this first Norman King, there were in that of King John twenty eight thousand in the hands of the church. This gave the clergy (by the dependances of those that held under them in so great numbers) a secular power annexed to their ecclesiastical authority: they had, besides, all the little learning which was in those ignorant ages, and passes for wisdom among those who want both; gives a faculty, at least, of discoursing, though, perhaps, not of judging better than others, and gains more attention, and easier applause from vulgar auditors. Lastly, they were united, more than any other state, upon one common bottom, and in pursuit of one common interest, which was always pretended to be the greatness of the holy church; but indeed was their own, and the honours, power, and riches of the church-

men, rather than of the church. By these circumstances, and the advantage of such a complicated strength, the clergy came to such an authority, that they were arbiters, if not of all affairs, at least, of all contests in the kingdom, and turned the balance which way soever they fell in; were still applied to by the weaker, and often by the unjuster side; had the chief sway, and were the chiefest instruments in all those many revolutions of state, irregular successions, and even usurpations of the Crown, that happened between the time of the conquest, and the reign of Henry the Third; which may easily be observed, and cannot easily be wondered at, by all who read the story of those reigns, and consider what has been said upon this subject, important enough to excuse this digression.

But to return to our conqueror, upon his march to London, and the consultations there how to receive him. The opinions and counsels of the Bishops and ecclesiastics easily prevailed, and seem to have had more reason, as well as authority, than the rest: so it was unanimously resolved, not only to submit to a power they could not oppose, but to acknowledge a title they would not dispute. The Duke, upon his approach to the city, was received with open gates and open arms, at least, without the appearance of any reluctance or discontent, any more than of resistance: he claimed the Crown at his arrival, by the testament of king Edward the Confessor, without any mention of conquest, which was infinitely grateful to all the Nobles and commons of the realm; whether it was a strain of his own prudence and good natural sense, or a persuasion of those English, who had either assisted or invited his invasion, or apprehension of so great and brave a people, if offended by the name of conquest, and irritated by the dangers or fears

of a lawless and arbitrary power, to which they had not yet their hearts or strength broken enough, easily to submit.

He was crowned King at Westminster by the Archbishop of York, who with Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury, had been the great promoters of those councils, by which he entered upon so peaceable a beginning of his reign. At his coronation, he took the oath usual in the times both of the Saxon and Danish Kings; which was, to protect and defend the church, to observe the laws of the realm, and to govern his people justly: after which he caused fealty to be sworn to him by all the Bishops, Barons, and Nobles, with the Magistrates of the city, who had assisted or attended at his coronation, and thereupon found himself on a sudden settled in a calm and quiet possession of a Crown he had so long aspired to, and so lately won by one single, though violent blow.

This King was about two and fifty years old, upon his accession to this Crown, and is, perhaps, the only instance found in story, either before or since, in this island or the rest of the world, that began and atchieved any great and famous enterprize after that age; whether the decline of nature leaves not vigour enough for such designs or actions; or fortune, like her sex, have no kindness left for old men, how much soever she favoured them when they were young: but the talents of age, which are prudence and moderation, learnt best in the school of experience, and seldom joined, if consistent, with the warm passions of youth, were now as necessary to this Prince, for the conservation of his kingdom, as his long, industrious application, and bold execution, had been for acquiring it; and how much he excelled in these qualities, will be seen by the sequel of his reign.

He considered very wisely, that though he had

gained the Crown by the assistance of foreign forces, and by the decision of arms, yet these might not always be so prosperous, if too often tried, and the number or strength of his foreigners bore no proportion to those of so brave and populous a nation, if they should unite on any bottom of common discontents, of dangers, or of fears; and that the safety and peace of his new acquired dominion, could be preserved only by the general satisfaction and security of his English subjects: and this was his first care, and was the best provided for by the two first actions of his reign; one was, that as he had claimed the Crown only from the testament of King Edward, and wholly avoided that odious name of conquest, so he expressed, upon all occasions, his resolution to govern the kingdom as a legal Prince, and leave the ancient laws and liberties of the English nation, as they had before enjoyed them: the other was, that as he drew no blood, but what was spilt in the field, so he seized only the lands and estates of those who had been in arms against him, before his accession to the Crown, or after that time, by any revolt or new oppositions.

This wise counsel made a clear and sudden distinction between those English that were to feel any ill effects by this late revolution, and the rest who were left out of danger, and in the same state they enjoyed under the race of their former lawful Kings, and so but little sensible of the change: the forfeited estates and lands were, indeed, seized with great severity, but the greatest part of the proprietors were silent in the grave, having been slain in the battle of Hastings, and pursuit of that victory; those who remained alive, being at once despoiled of all their possessions, were broken in their hearts, maimed in their interest among their neighbours; and being but few throughout the kingdom, in comparison of those that were safe, their losses or com-

plaints were little regarded by the rest, but, like wounded deer, were deserted, and even avoided, by the herd.

Upon the coronation of the King at London, with the concurrence of Nobles and people in that city, and his care in publishing throughout the several counties, these two resolutions concerning the safety of their properties and laws; all the inhabitants of both the adjacent and remoter counties, and of what degree soever, not only with universal consent submitted to his government as to a decree of Heaven, but most of them began to express, or, at least, pretend, a common joy at the fate of the late usurper and the prosperous fortunes of the present King.

His next care was the satisfaction of those many and brave adventurers and soldiers, who had followed him in this expedition; which he endeavoured to make with justice to his promise, and to their several merits, as far as the forfeited lands and revenues would reach, or any treasures or debts be found here belonging to the Crown: the lands of the English Barons who had opposed him, he divided among the Norman Barons that had attended him; those of the Commoners among the soldiers; what offices were vacant, he supplied with such as he had not lands or money to reward; such of the Normans as he could not clear accounts with at present by any of these ways, he distributed into the rich and numerous abbies of the kingdom, to be there entertained till new employments should fall, or new forfeitures, or new supplies should come into the King's coffers, by the large revenues of the Crown, or the wise management of his treasures; which had always been a virtue of this Prince, and exercised in his lower fortunes, as far as could agree with the bounty of his nature, to-

wards those who deserved it by their merits or their services.

The provision he made for so many poor Normans, by disposing them among the rich monasteries, to share in their plenty, seemed, at least, a temporary imposition upon the clergy, and a breach of those immunities they had enjoyed in the Saxon reign: for though one chief end of the large donations made by so many Princes and pious subjects to the church, was intended for charitable uses, by relief of the poor, and the hospitable entertainment of passengers, pilgrims, and strangers; yet this use was left voluntary, and at the choice of those who possessed these revenues: the Normans sent among them, were indeed strangers and poor, but yet the most charitable monks had little mind to relieve them, or, if they had, were not willing to receive them within their convents, to be not only sharers of their provisions, but observers of their actions; however, they complied at present with the desires of the King, or the necessity of the times, yet they generally took it ill of the King, and for a diminution of those immunities, or of that favour they had enjoyed under former reigns: some thought, he had an envious eye at the vast riches of the clergy; others, that he was jealous of their power, and suspected their affections to his person and government, and apprehended as easy a change among them, upon the approach of any new revolution, as they had shewed upon the last in his own favour. That for these reasons he had dispersed his Normans as so many guards, or, at least, as so many spies among them: whatever it was, it is certain this action bred the first unkindness of the clergy towards this King, and being followed by two other strains of the same nature (which will be observed in their time) left an imposition upon his memory, of hardship,

cruelty, oppression, or exaction, which he deserved as little as other Princes, that have a fairer character in story and common opinion. For the monks having been the only writers remaining of these times, as well as some succeeding reigns, have left a tincture of their passions upon the actions of the first Kings of this Norman race, and painted their virtues and vices in fairer or fouler colours, according to the ideas they had framed of them and their several dispositions or actions, in favour or prejudice of the church; that is, of ecclesiastical persons or privileges: such an authority have the pens of learned writers always claimed and possessed, as to pass the definitive sentence upon the memories of the greatest Princes in the vulgar opinion of posterity. Nor is it evident, whether the invidious name of conqueror, which this King had so carefully avoided, were entailed upon him by the flattery of his friends, or the malice of his enemies; among whom, the monkish writers seem to have been the chief and most inveterate.

Whatever motions were raised upon this occasion in the minds of the clergy, none appeared in the rest of the body of the realm, or mass of the people: most were satisfied, because they either liked their new King, or hated the last usurper: some were indifferent to both, while their estates and liberties were out of danger; and such who were displeased with either, disguised their resentment, or were not taken notice of in the crowd. All conspired to make so great a calm succeed in the kingdom, as is usual after a great storm is over, that the King, having passed some months here in the cares and for the settlement of his new dominions in England, made a journey to visit his old in Normandy, about the beginning of the summer, having been crowned at Westminster on Christmas-day.

Whether this was undertaken upon any necessity of his affairs on that side, or to settle them so, as not to interrupt him here, where he intended to reside, is not known; or whether he took a pleasure and a pride to shew both his subjects, and his neighbour Princes, how secure he esteemed himself in his new acquired dominions; but it looks like a strain of his usual boldness and fearless temper, and succeeded well, like the rest of his councils and resolutions: yet was not this journey undertaken without prudence and caution, in the choice of those hands with whom he left the government in his absence, and of those persons he engaged to accompany him in the voyage. He committed the rule of the kingdom to his brother Odin Bishop of Bayeux, and to Fitz Aubar his near kinsman, whom he had lately made Earl of Hereford. He took with him into Normandy, Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury, who though a great instrument in his easy and peaceable admission to the Crown, yet had been discontented at his coronation, which had been performed by the Archbishop of York, upon pretence of some fault or question about the other's investiture; with him he took several other Bishops, the Earls Edwin and Morchar, two persons of great power and dependances, with many other English Noblemen, of whose faith or affections he was the least confident; and besides these, he took with him a greater and much more considerable hostage for the quiet of England, though under colour of honouring him, or being honoured by his company; this was Edgar, surnamed Atheling, nephew to Edward the Confessor, and designed by him for successor, as was divulged among those of his subjects, that neither favoured the right or pretensions of Harold, or the Norman Duke. He had many disadvantages to balance and weigh down his right, which was un-

disputed; as, his foreign birth and breeding, which was in Hungary, during his father's exile under the reign of Hardecnute; the persecution and hatred of his grandmother Emma, a woman celebrated in her time, for the suspicion and clearing of her chastity by the Saxon trial of fire ordeal; but who having married Hardecnute, after the death of her first husband, had ever after more inclination to the Danish than the Saxon race: besides, Edgar, though of so good and virtuous dispositions, as made him be styled England's darling; yet they were such as seemed to become an excellent private person, rather than a Prince, or, at least, to have adorned an easy and peaceful possession of a Crown, rather than to force his way to a legal right, through the difficulties and opposition of two powerful pretenders. However, an undisputed right (which, they say, never dies) had left him so many friends in the kingdom, that the King thought it not safe to leave him behind, upon his going into Normandy, nor wise to tempt either him or his new English subjects with such an opportunity of raising any commotions upon so fair a pretence.

Besides these cautions, he took with him most of his French adventurers into Normandy, finding they were not very agreeable here, either to the English, or to the Normans, and pretending he was not able to clear his accounts with all that assisted him, out of the revenues or forfeitures here, and that he would find out ways of satisfying them either in Normandy, or by his credit and recommendations to other Princes, where his own bounty or abilities could not reach.

During his stay in Normandy, which was no less than the whole summer, his new government in England continued quiet and peaceable; though one Erick, called The Forester, endeavoured to disturb it, by calling in some loose forces of the

Welsh, his neighbours, into Herefordshire; but he was soon suppressed, and they easily forced back into their own mountains, by the vigilance of the Governors, and the vigour of those forces he had left here, disposed with such order into the several counties, as to give way or time to no growing dangers that should arise in any one corner, or from any single discontent, while the general humour of the people was calm, and either satisfied with the change, or at a gaze how this new world was like to end. So that the King, after having settled his affairs in Normandy to his mind, returned before winter, to enjoy the fruits of so many dangers and toils as his life had been engaged in, resolving to spend the remainder of it in England, as the nobler scene and greater dominion, and to cultivate with care an acquisition he had gained himself with much hazard and pains, and with greater glory.

The King at his return into England, finding his new dominion had continued calm and peaceable under the authority of his brother and council, had reason to believe it would easily be preserved so under his own. For, as the absence of an ill Prince seldom fails of raising disquiets and commotions among the people, in a government which is obeyed only from fear; so nothing contributes more to the satisfaction and obedience of subjects, than the presence of a good King; and this is the reason why all distant provinces, governed by commissions or subordinate authorities, are so subject to frequent seditions and revolts, how lawfully soever they are inherited, or how well soever they are established after any new conquest or acquisition; the force and influence of authority growing still weaker by the change of hands and distance of place: this disposed the new King to the resolution he took at this time, of making England the

seat of his person, as well as empire, and governing Normandy by his Lieutenants; thereby forcing the common affections of birth, or education and custom, to yield and comply with reasons of state, and preferring a foreign to his natural soil, though, perhaps, seated in a better climate, and at that time more adorned and civilized by the commerce of France, and other countries upon the continent.

With this resolution, and in this security, he applied himself at his return to the arts of peace, and the orders of his state, wherein he as well excelled as in those of war, and was framed, not only for a great Prince, but for a good; to which he was inclined by the bounty and clemency of his natural dispositions, by the strength and soundness of his judgment, and by the experience of his age: his first care was to provide for the due administration and execution of laws and justice throughout his realm; and the next was, to introduce order into the common course of his revenue, and manage it with so great proportion of his expence to his receipts, as might neither leave the Crown in necessities, nor the subjects in fears of new or lawless exactions and oppressions; justice being the very foundation of government, as treasure is said to be the sinew of war.

For the first; as he had sworn at his coronation to govern by the laws of the realm; so he continued the ancient customs and liberties of the people, that were called the common law of the kingdom, which he caused to be in substance observed, both in what concerned the Crown and the subject, though he introduced several new forms in the administration or execution of them: besides the ancient laws or customs that concerned the descent of private inheritances, or the penalties upon several crimes, there were two fundamental laws of the Saxon or English kingdom: the trial by juries

of twelve men, wherein consisted the chief safety of mens properties and lives; and the borough law, which was the greatest security that had been invented by the wisdom of our Saxon ancestors, for the peace and order of the realm. The first, I know, is by some authors mentioned as having been introduced by this Norman King out of the laws of that country: but I think it evident to have been an institution very ancient among the Saxons, and to have been derived and observed during the whole succession of the English Kings, and even in the Danish reigns, without any interruption. Nor does there want some traces or appearances of it, from the very first institutions of Odin the first great leader of the Asiatic Goths or Getæ into Europe, and the founder of that mighty kingdom round the Baltic sea, from whence all the Gothic governments in these north-west parts of the world were derived, by the spreading conquests of those northern races.

It is recorded, that upon the beginning of his expedition, he ordained a council of twelve men, who should judge and decide all matters that came in question: and there being then no other laws established among those vast numbers of rough people, going to seek out new conquests, and thereby seats to inhabit; it is probable, these twelve men judged all cases upon evidence or matter of fact, and then gave their sentence, and appointed penalties according to what they esteemed most agreeable to justice and equity, so as the twelve men were at first both jurors and judges: their judgments in causes both real and criminal, being generally approved as just and equitable, grew into precedent to succeeding judges, and being received by general submission, introduced the custom of certain sentences being pronounced in certain causes, and certain punishments being usually inflicted

upon certain crimes. In process of time, and multiplicity of business, the matter of fact continued to be tried by twelve men; but the adjudgment of the punishment, and the sentence thereupon, came to be given by one or two, or more persons, chosen out of such as were best versed in the knowledge of what had been usual in former judgments upon like cases; and as the first part was left to the equals or neighbours of the persons accused (as most likely to do justice to one of their own rank or acquaintance) so the other was committed to persons of learning or knowledge in the ancient customs, records, or traditions of what had long passed in the course of justice among that nation: thus we find it evident, that in the Saxon reigns in England, causes were adjudged by the Aldermen and Bishop of the several shires, with the assistance of twelve men of the same county, who are said to have been judges or assistants to the two first, by such as affirm or pretend this manner of trial to have been drawn by the conqueror himself out of Normandy, who is thereby said to have introduced in this, as well as some other forms, the Norman laws into the common law of England. It is true, that the same custom or trial was used in Normandy before the conquest, and it is most probable, that neither the English received it from the Normans, nor these from the English; but that both nations, deriving their original from those ancient Goths, agreed in several customs or institutions, deduced from their common ancestors, which made this trial by juries continue uninterrupted in England, not only by the Normans, but by the Danes also, who were but another swarm of that great northern hive. It is true, the terms of jury and verdict were introduced by the Normans, with many others in the style and practice of our laws; but the trials by twelve men, with that essential

circumstance of their unanimous agreement, was not only used among the Saxons and Normans, but is known to have been as ancient in Sweden, as any records or traditions of that kingdom, which was the first seat of the Gothic dominions in the north-west parts of Europe, and it still remains in some provinces of that country. However, King William caused this to be observed as the common law of the kingdom, and thereby gave great and universal satisfaction to the body of the people, both English and Normans.

The borough law had been likewise anciently established among the Saxons, whereby every shire was divided into so many hundreds or boroughs, consisting at first of one hundred families therein usually inhabiting; every hundred into so many tythings, consisting of ten families. If any person committed, or were accused of any crime, the tything to which he belonged was bound to produce him to justice before the court of the hundred or county: if he fled, they were to swear they were not accomplices of the fact, and that they would procure the criminal, whenever they could find him; if this failed, in a certain time, they would discover all the goods he was possessed of within their tything, to satisfy the damage done to a subject, or a fine to the King upon such an offence; if neither person nor estate appeared, then the tything was answerable to a certain proportion; and if that were not sufficient, then it was laid upon the hundred. By this means, it became every man's interest, as well as his duty, to prevent all crimes and misdemeanors among their neighbours, and to discover the criminals, since they were otherwise to share in the penalty; and as the rest of the tything was bound for the behaviour of every freeman among them, so every lord or master was bound to answer in the same manner for their servants.

I know not whether any constitution of government, either ancient or modern, ever invented or instituted any law or order, of greater wisdom, or of greater force, to preserve the peace and safety of any state, and of equal utility to the Prince and people, making virtue and innocence of life so necessary, by the easy apprehension or discovery, and certain punishment of offenders. This law the King caused likewise to be severely observed during his reign, finding therein his own interest as well as his peoples, and the great security of his new-settled government.

He confirmed all mens properties, inheritances, and successions, invading none, either for his own benefit, or reward of his Norman forces or friends, excepting the possessions of such as had opposed his claim to the Crown, which he pretended to be a lawful right, as derived from the testament of Edward the Confessor, and thereby was made a pretence of legal forfeiture in all that resisted him: but this blow to so many estates and families was given at once, and no more renewed: on the contrary, justice was administred equally to the Englishmen, upon the injuries of the Normans, who presumed upon the King's favour, in prejudice of right, and of those laws he had confirmed or established. Whereof one memorable instance remains upon record, even in those writers who were most severe upon the actions and memory of this prince: it was an action between Warren a Norman, and Sherburn an Englishman: the first by virtue of a grant from the King, had entered upon the lands of the other; who came into court, and pleaded, that he had never bore arms against the King, nor opposed his title or accession to the Crown, but had lived always peaceably upon his own lands, and so was liable to no forfeiture by the common law, but was farther secured by the King's declaration, im-

mediately after his coming to the Crown: upon which plea, a just sentence was given in favour of Sherburn, his lands restored, and Warren the Norman cast and condemned to the costs of the suit.

He appointed justices to preserve the peace, and administer justice in every county, pursuant to that which was used in the Saxon reigns. For the pleas of the Crown, and those of greater moment, between the subjects, he created judges of the most learned and able he could find; and ordained four terms each year, consisting of a certain number of days, wherein justice should be duly administred, and all suits heard in such places as the King should appoint and find most convenient. Besides these orders, he instituted the courts of Chancery and Exchequer; the first for tempering the rigour of laws, according to the dictates of conscience and equity; and the other for determining all actions concerning the revenues of the Crown, and punishing exactions or irregular proceedings in the officers who levied or received them, as well as defaults or delays in those from whom it was due.

For taxes or impositions unusual, it does not appear that he levied any, excepting one of six shillings upon each plow-land throughout the kingdom; nor is it well agreed at what time, or upon what occasion, this was raised, whether by consent of a general assembly, or by his own regal authority; by this, indeed, he imposed Danegelt upon the invasion of the Danes, which happened once or twice in this reign, though with little progress or success.

This tax was first raised by Ethelred, upon the first enterprize of the Danes upon England, and afterwards used by several of his successors, upon the like danger, sometimes to repulse them by force and arms, sometimes to evade them by bargains and money; wherewith they compounded for the pre-

sent dangers, but invited others to come by such mean defences.

This tax grew odious to the people, whenever it was raised upon any other pretence than a Danish invasion; and though it was sometimes levied, yet very seldom, and cautiously, by some few of the Saxon Kings, and but once or twice by this Norman Prince, and, then most probably, upon the true natural occasions which had given it the first original: thus, I suppose, it is confounded with the tax before mentioned, and without applying it to the Danish invasions, by some writers who seem to take all occasions of defaming the actions and memory of this King, and to avoid all just excuses of any that were ill resented: and this proceeded from the ill talent of the monkish writers, who measured the virtues and vices of Princes, by the opinion of their favour or disaffection to the clergy, whom they accounted or styled the church; though this general appellation is known to comprehend not only such persons as were anciently chosen to administer the offices of divine worship, but also all believing Christians that composed such assemblies, to whom those offices were administred: of this the King seemed to be sensible; for though he was a Prince of known and great piety, and so approved by the several Popes during his reign; yet he appeared very little favourable, if not something hard, to the ecclesiastics of this kingdom; and perhaps something bold with their privileges, so long enjoyed under the devout Saxon Kings.

For the rest, he contented himself with the usual revenues of the Crown; and by his great order and management, as well as moderation in his constant expence, gained much ease to the Crown, and satisfaction to his people.

The chief and ancient branches of the Crown-revenue consisted of, first, the lands of old reserv-

ed as a provision for the King's houshold, and so reckoned as Crown-lands; these, at first, yielded only certain quantities of provisions, as beef, sheep, wheat, hay, oats, according to the nature of the lands, the tenures by which they held, and the quantity of provisions found necessary for the King's houshold; what overplus remained, was compounded for, and paid in money, according to the rates usual and agreed. The next was a duty reserved anciently out of every Knight's fee; which, at first, was constantly paid as a quit-rent, but being very small, came, in time, to be neglected by the Kings, that contented themselves with the military attendance of the Knights in their wars; and with levying sometimes a greater duty, upon great or urgent occasions, under the name of escuage, which was burthensome and odious, till the proportions and occasions came to be ascertained. Those authors who will make the conqueror to have broken or changed the laws of England, and introduced those of Normandy, pretend this duty of escuage, with the tenures of Knight's service and baronage, to have come over in this reign, as well as the trial by juries: but as enough has been said to clear the last, so it needs no proof that these, with the other feudal laws, were all brought into Europe by the ancient Goths, and by them settled in all the provinces which they conquered of the Roman empire; and, among the rest, by the Saxons in England, as well as by the Francs in Gaul, and the Normans in Normandy, where the use of their states, or general assemblies, were likewise of the same original.

The last common branch of the King's revenue, consisted of forfeitures, both of lands and goods, in cases of treason; and fines, or some known mulctary punishments upon other crimes, which were distinctly prescribed in the Saxon laws even

for manslaughter and murder itself; the rigour of those times not extending to blood, except in those cases where the common safety of the kingdom was concerned, by the danger of the King.

By all these orders and institutions, and the clemency as well as justice wherewith they were administred, the King, how new soever his reign, how disputed his title, and how disagreeable his person by a foreign birth, yet so far gained the general affections and satisfaction of the Commoners of the realm, who ask nothing but security in their estates and properties, that no commotions afterwards raised by the Nobles and clergy against his government, though in favour of a better right and title, were ever supported by the Commons, who compose the mass or bulk of a nation: and whose general good or ill humour, satisfaction or discontent, will ever have the most forcible influence for the preservation or ruin of any state.

Besides the good and profitable institutions and orders of this King, already mentioned, so generally approved, and so grateful to the commonalty of the realm, there were others, of a different nature, and which had a contrary effect, by distasting and disobliging many of the chief Nobility, and most or all of the clergy; though some were so cautious, as not to lose their dignities or revenues, by expressing their resentments.

The offences taken by these last were, first, the abrogating or surceasing the judiciary power, exercised by the Bishops, during the Saxon times, in each county, where justice was administred; and the Bishop, with the Aldermen or Earl of each shire, sat as judges in those courts; which increased not only their authority, but their revenues too, by a share they had with the King in all fines raised from the issue of causes there determined: but all this was abolished by the King's

institution of justiciaries, to administer justice upon all pleas of the Crown, and others among subjects, at four terms of the year.

This gave particular offence to the Bishops, but another to the whole clergy; for whereas before they held all their lands by Franc almonage, and subject to no duties or impositions, but such as they laid upon themselves in their ecclesiastical assemblies: this Prince finding above a third part of the lands of the kingdom in possession of the clergy, and the forces of the Crown, which consisted in Knight's service, lessened in proportion by their immunity; he reduced all their lands to the tenure of Knights fees and baronage; and thereby subjected them to the attendance upon the King in his wars, and to other services anciently due; and sometimes raised upon all lands that held in fee from the Crown. This innovation touched not only the Bishops, but all the Abbots throughout the kingdom; many of whom were endowed with so great lands and revenues, that in right thereof they were upon the regular constitutions of Parliaments, allowed session with the Bishops, as Barons, in the house of Lords.

The whole clergy exclaimed against this new institution, not only as an indignity and injustice, but as an impiety too, and violation of the sacred rights of the holy church: but their complaints were without redress, though not without ill consequence.

The discontents among many of the great Nobles, arose chiefly from two occasions: the first was, the rigour of the forest-laws, and of their execution: and the other was, the King's too apparent partiality to his Normans.

To know the ground, or pretence of these forest-laws, it will be necessary to run up to their original. In the first seizures and distributions made

of the British lands by the conquering Saxons, besides those reserved to the Kings, or divided among the people, and held by the tenures, either of Knight's service, or of Book-land, as it was termed among the Saxons, and thereby distinguished from that of villenage, there were many great tracts of barren, wild, or woody lands, left undisposed, and, in a manner, waste; so great numbers of British inhabitants having been extinguished by the wars, or retired into Wales, Cornwal, Britany, and Scotland; and the new Saxons not content to share among them any lands, but such as were fruitful, and fit to be cultivated: these were inclosed, or improved as well as inhabited by the new proprietors, and the others left waste, as well as undisposed to any certain owners. The whole country was, as has been observed, very full of all sorts of wild game in the time of the Britains; who lived at large, without any inclosures, little property, and subsisted much upon hunting, fishing, and fowling, which they had all in common. Upon the inclosing, or cultivating, of the fruitful lands by the Saxons, the wild beasts, naturally afraid of neighbours, whom they found to be all enemies, fled into the wild, woody, and desolate tracts of land, where they found shelter, and fed, though hardly, yet out of common sight and noise: and hereby all those parts became replenished with all sorts of game, especially with red and fallow deer, and made all those several extents of ground, which were afterwards called forests.

The Saxon Kings esteemed these to belong to the Crown, by their right to all possessions that have no certain owner, and by their never having been disposed upon the first divisions of land in the Saxon Kingdoms, nor afterwards by any grants of the Crown. This right was not disputed, nor any use of it made; farther than for the King's

pleasure, which yet was not by them restrained from the Nobles and Knights, that were borderers upon the forests, who were so moderate in those more simple ages, as to commit no excesses, or destroy the game, which it was their interest to preserve, both for their sport and the quarry; and for some use made of it for common pasturage among all the bordering neighbours.

William the Conqueror not only seized upon all these forests, as part of his own demesnes, but made a very large one in Hampshire besides those he found, by laying waste, and leaving uninhabited great extents of land, which he pretended to be fallen to the Crown by ancient succession, or by new forfeitures; and this he called, The new forest, which name, after so long a course of ages, it still retains.

In all these forests he pretended an absolute right and dominion; and in pursuance thereof instituted new and arbitrary laws of his own, unused and unknown before in this kingdom, and very different from the moderation of the Saxon government. He confined all hunting or fowling in these forests to himself, or such as should have right to it by his concessions or permissions. He imposed fines upon all trespasses committed in them, according to his own pleasure, and which seemed much to exceed the fault or value of the thing. These he caused to be levied with great rigour and exaction; and thereby debarred not only his commoners, but his Nobles too, from a liberty they had before always enjoyed. Though he took care not to provoke the commoners, by leaving pasturage free for such of the neighbours who lived most upon their stock, and thereby took no great offence at the restraint from their sport, which they had not time from their labour much to follow; yet the Nobles and Knights, who valued their sports more

than common gains, and made use of their riches but for increase of their pleasures, resented this restraint as a sensible injury, as an invasion of their liberties, and even as an affectation of an arbitrary power in this particular; and from the exercise whereof he was only restrained by the regards of his safety and interest, in others of more moment and consequence: the great Nobles resented it yet farther, as an indignity, by levelling their privileges with the liberties of the Commoners; from whom they esteemed themselves distinguished by the usual regards and respects paid them from the Princes, in their degree, as well as from the people. Nor does it appear, whether this violent institution of the forest-laws proceeded from his passionate love of hunting (the only pleasure to which this Prince was addicted) or from his avarice, by so many fines to increase his treasure, or from a desire of being absolute and arbitrary in one part of his government, which he found he could not be with any safety in the rest.

For his partiality to the Normans, though it was disguised, or, at least, not evident, in the common forms of his justice, which run a free and even course, yet it was easily discovered in that of his graces and favour; the civil offices, ecclesiastical benefices, places of most trust about his person and in his realm, were conferred generally upon his Normans; and besides these advantages, and those of the forfeitures that fell upon his entrance, they appeared to have his countenance, his conversation, his confidence; so that whatsoever the English possessed of the kingdom, the Normans alone seemed to possess the King.

This might have been more excusable, if the English had considered the King as much as themselves, and many of his circumstances as well as their own: they were strangers to him, or but new

acquaintance; they differed in language, in manners, in customs; they had very lately differed in interest, and from enemies in war, were, indeed, now become subjects, but rather as to a conqueror than a lawful Prince: the Normans spoke his native tongue, were trained up in the same customs, acquainted with his person from his youth, had attended him in his Court; followed him in his wars at home and abroad; and thought it but just they should share in his fortunes, as they had in his dangers.

However, many of the great aspiring spirits among the English Nobles, could not bear this partiality of the King's: they thought the Normans ought to be provided of rewards or honours in Normandy, but those of England should be conferred upon English: besides, they resented the common testimonies of his inclination to the Normans, as much as they could have done injuries to themselves; like generous lovers, who are more jealous and spited to see their rivals gain the inclination of their mistress, than the possession; and had rather they should have her body than her heart.

Upon all these causes, the discontents of many chief English Nobles and Prelates were grown to such a height, swelling more within, the more they were suppressed; that they wanted only a fair occasion to draw them to a head, and make them break out with violence, and much pain and danger to the state.

This was furnished them, either by fortune or design, in the third, fourth, or fifth year of the conqueror's reign; for the authors are neither distinct, nor agreed in assigning the causes, or the times of this King's actions in war, or institutions in peace; by which their true nature, and that of the Prince, would have been best discovered; whereas they content themselves to display their eloquence, or

vent their passions, by relating general or particular events, what was done, and what was suffered in his reign; by which some of the Norman writers endeavoured to represent him as a god, and some of the English like a devil, and both unjustly.

Edgar Atheling was nephew to Edward the confessor, and the undisputed as well as undoubted heir of the kingdom from the Saxon race: it was generally thought that he had likewise been designed by King Edward, a just and pious Prince, to succeed him in the throne; and that his declaration pretended by Harold, or testament by the Duke of Normandy, were fictitious, or, at least neither of them evident from any clear and undoubted writings or testimonies. Edgar was besides, from the bounty of his nature, the excellence of his temper, the prerogative of his birth, and the compassion of his unjust fortunes, much and generally beloved and esteemed among all the English, both Nobles and Commons; yet he neither opposed Harold's usurpation, nor the Normans conquest; whether for want of spirit to attempt so great an adventure, or upon prudence, not to oppose such powers as he found unresistable, and in which so many circumstances had conspired, choosing rather to content himself with the shades of a private condition, out of danger and envy, or, at least, to attend some future occasions, that might open a more probable way to his hopes and his fortunes.

He was at London, among many other Nobles, when the famous and decisive battle was fought at Hastings, and the news brought of the Duke's victory, and of Harold's death: those of the Nobles who were for opposing the conqueror, were for declaring Edgar Atheling King; the citizens of London were at first disposed to the same resolution; but the Bishops and clergy, who had the greatest sway among both those orders, prevailed in this

general council, for a general submission to the fate of the kingdom.

In pursuance of this resolution, Edgar Atheling, with Stigand and Alred, Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Edwin and Morchar, two of the greatest English Lords, the rest of the Nobles and Bishops, who had attended the victorious Duke upon his way to London, was well received by him, and treated with bounty as well as humanity; so that the young Prince attended frequently at Court, accompanied the king into Normandy, returned with him into England, and lived there for some time, like one who had forgot his birth and his title, though they were by the English well remembered: but at length, either weary of rest, or rouzed by other spirits more unquiet than his own, he resolved, or at least pretended, to make a journey into Hungary, where he was born, during his father's exile, had lived long, and was much beloved: he embarked for Flanders with his two sisters Margaret and Christine; but, forced by a storm and contrary winds, or allured by fairer hopes, he was driven upon the coasts of Scotland; the first was given out, but the last suspected, from the event of this voyage. He was received by Malcolm the King, with great kindness, and compassion of his disasters, both at sea and land; was resorted to by all the Nobles and Gentlemen who had sheltered themselves in that kingdom upon hate or fear of the conquest in England; and was by them acknowledged and honoured as the true and lawful heir of that Crown. Soon after his arrival, the King of Scotland, inflamed either with the beauty of the young Lady, or with the hopes of her brother's fortunes, or upon former concert with the English Nobles residing in Scotland, and intelligence with others discontented in England, married the Lady Margaret, eldest sister of Edgar; and thereby became newly

engaged in the interests and family of this noble, but unfortunate Prince.

The fame of this adventure was no sooner divulged in England, than it raised a great, though different motion in the minds of all men there, who were either well or ill affected to the new King, filling one party with new hopes, and the other with new fears, and reasonably enough in both, from all common appearances. Many persons of great note and authority in England repaired immediately upon it into Scotland, some by easy passages out of the northern counties, and others out of the remoter parts of the realm, by more difficult escapes, either by sea or land. Among these were the Earls Edwin, Morchar, Hereward, Syward, Gospatrick, men of great estates and power, as was believed, in England, with many other Nobles and Gentlemen. But that which seemed yet of greater influence and authority, was the repair of Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury, and Alred of York, with divers other Bishops and Prelates, who having been the chief instruments in making way for the easy accession of Duke William to the Crown, and for the general submission of the English to his reign, were presumed now likely to prove of as great moment and importance for the restoration and support of a just English title in Edgar, as they had been for the admission and establishment of one disputed and foreign, of the Norman Dukes: besides, the clergy being accounted the wise and learned men of that age, were esteemed most likely to judge best of the rights, and best to foresee the events in disputes of the Crown, and unlikely to embark themselves in a bottom unsound, upon either the regards of justice or success.

Edgar, exalted with such a concourse of Nobles out of England, and the hopes they gave him of a greater from the people there, when he should ap-

pear among them, resolved to lay claim to that Crown, and with stronger arguments, than those of a bare title, or right of succession, how just soever: for the Scots King had now assisted him with a great army, being induced to engage openly in his quarrel, not only by the charms of his wife, or compassion of her brother's hard fortune, but by reasons of state, as well as of justice and affection: he feared the dangerous neighbourhood of so powerful, aspiring, and fortunate a Prince, and apprehended his ambition would not cease with the conquest of England, but extend it to that of Scotland too, and reducing the whole island of Britain under one dominion, for which it seemed by nature to have been framed; he thought it both wise and necessary, to give some stop to this growing power, before it became too well settled at home, and thereby prepared for new enterprizes abroad: and that it was better carrying a war into England, than expecting it in Scotland. He was glad of so fair an occasion to justify his quarrel, and by advancing the fortunes of Edgar, to secure his own: he had taken measures with Swane King of Denmark, to enter the Humber with a powerful navy, whilst he with his army entered the northern provinces by land; and with the sons of Harold, at the same time, to invade the West, by the assistance of forces to be furnished by Drone King of Ireland, to whom they had fled upon the Norman victory. He presumed upon great insurrections among the English, in favour of Edgar, and by the authority of the Nobles, his associates, who had represented the common discontents in England to be as great as their own.

These hopes were not ill-grounded, nor the designs ill laid; for the Danish fleet was ready to sail, and the sons of Harold, with their Irish forces, landed and raised a commotion in the West, at the

same time that Edgar, with those out of Scotland, invaded the North, where he found at first no opposition; but instead of enemies, met with many friends prepared to receive him and increase his strength: he made himself master of Northumberland, Cumberland, and the Bishopric of Durham, by the defeat of Robert Count of Mortain, who was there slain, with seven hundred Normans. From thence he marched without resistance, as far as York, which was defended by a strong garrison of Norman soldiers: he besieged this city, the capital and defence of all the northern counties, and assaulted it with that fury, that he carried the town by storm, where all the Normans were put to the sword by the rage and revenge of the English Nobles in his army; many in the heat of the assault, and the rest, after they were entered, and found no more resistance. After this success, Edgar remained some time at York, to refresh his army, after so long a march, and so warm an action, which had cost him the lives of many brave men, and the wounds of many more. Besides, he expected here to see his army soon encreased by the repair of many friends and discontents out of the southern provinces of England, and by the arrival of the Danish fleet in the Humber, according to the concert before agreed, and for which he knew all had been prepared.

King William thus surrounded with dangers from the West and North, and with jealousies of his new subjects, of whose affections he had yet made no trial, farther than some few years submission to his government; was yet undaunted at the news of all these attempts, nor any ways distracted by such various either dangers or fears. He applied himself to those which were nearest by sending the forces he had ready, immediately into the West, under experienced Commanders; and prepared a

greater army both of English and Normans, to march himself into the North, after the commotions in the West should be appeased: this happened to be easier and sooner than he expected; for the attempt of Harold's sons, with their Irish forces, proved weak and faint, though successful in the first encounter; wherein Ednoth, a brave commander on the King's side, was slain, with several of his followers; but the sons of Harold being defeated in a second engagement, and failing of any considerable recourse or insurrection of the English there (upon which they had grounded their chief hopes), much disappointed, and thereby discouraged, were easily broken by the brave Norman troops, and forced to return with the remainder of their Irish forces into Ireland.

King William, upon the happy end of this adventure, after the best orders taken for the security of the southern parts in his absence, marched at the head of a brave army into the North, engaged the forces of Edgar in a set battle; and by the valour of his troops, the discipline and order of his army, and his own excellent conduct, defeated intirely the united strength of his enemies; besieged and took again the city of York, defended by Waltheof, son to the Earl Syward, a young Gentleman of great valour, and much admired in this action, being said to have stood firm at a breach made in the wall, and with his sword to have cut off the heads of many Normans, as they pressed to enter, and could do it but one by one, by the narrowness of the breach so bravely defended.

After this defeat, and the surrender of York, Edgar retired into Scotland with those of his dependants who were most desperate and impatient of the Norman conquest. The rest of the English Nobles, who had escaped the battle, submitted themselves to the King, and came in upon public

faith, took a new oath of allegiance, and were thereupon all pardoned, and many restored, not only to their estates, but to favour with the King; who had found Erick the forester, that had first rebelled against him, after his coronation, express great fidelity, after his pardon obtained, and perform good service in this northern expedition. He made Gospatrick Earl of Northumberland, and employed him against the dangers and incursions he apprehended from the Scots. He was so charmed with the valour and constancy that Waltheof had shewed in the defence of York, (though so much to his cost, and the loss of so many Normans by his sword) that he resolved to gain him at what rate soever he valued himself, shewing the nobleness of his own courage and virtue, by loving and honouring them in his enemies. He married this young Gentleman to Judith his niece, gave him great possessions, besides those to which he was heir, and used him with much confidence; which was for some time returned with service and with faith.

Most of the other Nobles that came in upon pardon of their lives, he despoiled of their estates and offices, and bestowed them upon his Norman friends and followers: some he kept prisoners whom he thought most dangerous; as the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and Edwin, a man of the greatest power and dependences, whose Earldom and great possessions in Yorkshire, were given to Alain Earl of Britain; as were those of several others at the same time, to others of his kindred or friends. In the room of Stigand, he made Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury, an Italian born, but an Abbot in Normandy, a person of great wisdom and temper, as well as learning: Thomas, his Chaplain he made Archbishop of York, and obtained the approbation of the Pope, for their suc-

cession in those Sees (during the lives of the other two) upon representation of other crimes, or, at least, vices besides their rebellion against a King, whose title had been confirmed by the Pope, as well as encouraged.

'Tis not agreed at what time the Danish fleet arrived upon the coasts, but it is certain, they entered Humber with about two hundred sail: some write, that they returned again without making any attempt upon the shore; that their commanders were enriched with great presents from the King, and their soldiers supplied with provisions, and all treated rather like friends than enemies: whether their arrival out of time made them despair of any success, and whether that were occasioned by cross winds at sea, or cross purposes in the Danish Court, is not well known: for William the Conqueror, after he was seated in the throne, feared no insult from abroad, but by Danish powers, and pretensions they had still upon England; and the preparations (as was divulged abroad) of Swane their King, for invading it with a navy of a thousand ships. Hereupon he endeavoured to ward this blow, by slight rather than force, thinking his safety on that side, better purchased with treasure, than with blood. He practised private intelligences in the Danish Court, and by force of presents and pensions, gained to his devotion some persons of credit, and among the rest, Edelbert Archbishop of Hamburgh, a man of great authority in those parts, and whose advices were much used and esteemed by the Danish King. It was believed the artifices and practices of these men, eluded the first great design of a mighty invasion, changed it into an assistance of the discontented here with smaller forces, delayed them till the time was passed, and disposed their commanders to return without action, and their master to receive

their excuses with approbation, or at least with impunity.

Yet there are other writers, who say, the Danes landed in England, made great spoils, joined Prince Edgar's forces, wintered in this kingdom, and returned in the spring, by the king's private practices and rewards among the commanders, as well as bounty to the soldiers.

The King, after having established his affairs in the North, returned triumphant to London, where the first action he performed, was, to take a new personal oath before Lanfranc the new archbishop, and all the Lords then present in that city, to observe the ancient laws of the realm, established by the Kings of England, his predecessors, and particularly those of Edward the Confessor.

This action of the King's was the more applauded, and the better accepted by the English, because it was unconstrained by any necessity of his affairs, or appearance of any new dangers, against which he might have reason to provide. And it is certain, his oath taken at his coronation, of preserving the ancient laws of the realm, had been the chief occasion of his safety in the late and dangerous convulsion of the state; together with the ill chosen time of the Scots invasion, and the revolt of the Lords in favour of Edgar: for if such attempts had been made soon after the conquest, while the minds of the people were generally in motion, and in fear of what might succeed, to the danger of their properties and their ancient liberties, upon that new revolution, his throne had not been only shaken, but in evident danger of being overthrown by such a violent concussion. But the people having lived quietly some years under the protection of their ancient laws, and in an equal course of known and common justice, grew indifferent to the change which had been

made in the rights or succession of the Crown, or to any new one that might succeed. Besides, though they were well affected to Edgar, yet they disliked the company with which he came attended, and hated the entrance of a Scots army into England, more than they loved Edgar. They thought, if he succeeded, the dominion would fall under the Scots, whilst he only retained the name; and if they must be governed by strangers, the best was to have those they were already used to, and so feared least. The common subjects of a kingdom are not so apt to trouble themselves about the rights and possession of a Crown, as about their own; and seldom engage in the quarrels of the first, but upon some general and strong apprehensions, that the last are in danger. So the discontents and insurrections of the Nobles in England, though encouraged and supported by foreign forces, yet failed of success against this new King and his government, because they were not followed by any general commotion or sublevation of the people, which left all safe and quiet in the southern parts and main body of the kingdom, whilst he marched with his army against his enemies in the North. Nor is the safety of a Prince so firm and well established upon any other bottom, as the general safety, and thereby satisfaction of the common people, which make the bulk and strength of all great kingdoms, whenever they conspire and unite in any common passion or interest. For the Nobles, without them, are but like an army of officers without soldiers, and make only a vain show or weak noise, unless raised and increased by the voice of the people; which for this reason is in a common Latin proverb called, The voice of God.

No Prince ever made greater or happier experience of this truth than William the Conqueror,

both in the events of the last and formidable dangers, which he so easily surmounted, and in the whole course of his subsequent reign, which was infested by many new troubles, either in England or in Normandy, that would have proved fatal to him, if he had been distracted by the common discontents, or insurrections of his English subjects; for his present calm was not of long continuance; the clouds soon gathered again, and threatened another storm, and from the same winds by which the last had been raised.

Malcolm, King of Scotland, still persisted in the envy and fear of his neighbouring power and greatness, still esteemed it his own interest to join with those of Edgar and his dependants in England, and thereby weaken the force, or disturb the quiet of the Norman government in England, before it should by the favour of time and calm seasons, take too deep root, to be afterwards shaken. He raised a greater army than before, with which he threatened again to invade England, and led them himself, though still in favour only of Edgar's title and advancement to the Crown. He entered into new practices with several of the English Nobles who had followed him, though unfortunately, in the last expedition, and were resolved to repair their former losses, by venturing greater, rather than give over the game. Nor could the hopes of the discontented English ever die while the root was alive, and they were fomented by the malice, and encouraged by the forces of so powerful a neighbour, joined with so just pretensions, as those of Edgar were generally esteemed.

When the preparations in Scotland, and intelligences in England, were ripe for execution, the Earl Edwin made his escape, and fled towards the North, but was by the way murdered by some of his own retinue. The Earls Morchar and Here-

ward, who were already upon the wing for the same flight, discouraged by this misadventure, durst not pursue it; but yet already engaged too far to make a retreat, they made way to possess themselves of the isle of Ely, fortified there the best they could, and hoped the Scots invasion would divert the King's forces from attempting them before winter, and that the season and situation together would there cover them for some time.

On the contrary, the Scots King was discouraged from beginning his march by the news of these disasters among his confederates in England, and chose rather to send the Bishop of Durham and Earl Syward out of Scotland, to relieve and animate those Lords retired to the isle of Ely, than to enter England, without hopes of their making some diversion. But the King, who never feared or slighted any dangers, and knew they were like diseases, to be taken in time, marched immediately with his forces to the isle of Ely, beset it upon one side with a great number of flat-bottom boats, and on another, made a bridge of two miles long, with incredible diligence and labour, and with such speed, as both surprised and terrified his enemies within. So as despairing of farther resistance, they all submitted to the King's mercy, except Hereward, who, with some few followers, escaped through the fens, and, through many dangers, arrived safe in Scotland. The rest of the Lords were sent prisoners to several parts of the kingdom, where some remained during the King's life, and others died before him, with whom they could not be content to live.

The King, after this small adventure so happily atchieved, and the present peace of his kingdom restored, yet considering the root of all his dangers was in Scotland, and unwilling to take up present quiet and safety, at too great an interest

of dangers to come, resolved to march into Scotland with a powerful army, and endeavour to secure himself on that side, either by a peace or victory. He first sent Roger a Norman, then Gospatrick earl of Northumberland, with part of his forces into the North, to oppose the Scots army that was already entered those provinces, with great spoils and ravages of the country, and to keep them at a bay till the King came up with the rest of his army. In the mean time he assembled his forces at York, with the best choice of men and officers, and such numbers as he judged necessary for such an expedition, composed of English and Normans, whose emulation he encouraged, with promises of reward, and hopes of establishing their common safety by the success of this enterprize. From York to Durham he met with many hardships and difficulties, from the wants of his army, in a country which had been so lately wasted by the Scots forces and his own, and with which he was then contented to prevent another invasion. But having surmounted all by his own care and the patience of his men, from the example of their leaders, he marched near the borders without any opposition, though common fame had made him expect the Scots would give him battle in England, and not the trouble of so long a march.

But Malcolm their King, now destitute of hopes or assistances from any foreign confederates, or any insurrections in England, after the last disasters of the discontented Lords, began to cool the heats of his blood; and, instead of farther invading England, changed his counsels, and resolved only upon a defensive war. At the news of King William's entrance into the northern provinces, he quitted Northumberland, and with good order retreated back to the borders, and there encamped his army to the best advantage, without making

any farther incursions into the English territories, either to secure his provisions, or not to provoke his enemies, and render all terms of reconcilement desperate, or not to endanger his retreat, in case of any disaster.

The King of England, approaching the borders, and thereby the Scots army, thought fit likewise to encamp his own, both to refresh his soldiers, harassed by so long and difficult a march, as also to discover the forces of the enemy, observe their countenance, their order, and their motions; and thereby judge of their designs, and direct his own to the best advantage: so that for some days the two armies stood at a bay, seeming both prepared for a fierce encounter, and yet both content to delay it, from a mutual respect they had for one another's forces and dispositions. They were, indeed, not much unequal in numbers, nor in the bravery and order of their troops; both Kings were valiant and wise, having been trained up in arms, inured to dangers, and much embroiled at home in the beginning of their reigns. They were now animated to a battle by their own courage as well as their soldiers, but yet both considered the event, in the uncertainty and the consequence; the loss of a battle might prove the loss of a Crown, and the fortune of one day determine the fate of a kingdom; and they knew very well, that whoever fights a battle, with what number and forces, what provisions and orders, or appearances soever of success, yet, at the best, runs a venture, and leaves much at the mercy of fortune, from accidents not to be foreseen by any prudence, or governed by any conduct or skill. These reflexions began to dispose both Kings to the thoughts of ending their quarrel by a peace rather than a battle; and though both had the same inclination, yet each of them was unwilling first to discover it, lest it might be interpreted to

proceed from apprehensions of weakness or fears, and thereby dishearten their own soldiers, or encourage their enemies. The Scots, at length, began the overture, which was received by King William with a show of indifference, but with a concealed joy; and the more reasonable, as having the greater stake, the less to win, and the more to lose by the issue of a battle. The first parley was followed by a treaty, and this, after some debate, by a peace, concluded as between equal forces, so upon equal conditions; each King to content himself with the ancient bounds of their several kingdoms, whereof the borders were agreed. Neither to invade one another's dominions, nor to assist the enemies, or receive and protect the rebels of each other; prisoners in the last or this war to be on both sides released; and subjects, who desired to return, to be on both sides restored to their country and possessions.

Edgar, the principal, or most appearing cause of the war, was included and provided for in this treaty, to return into England, make his submission to the King, renounce any farther claim to the Crown; and thereupon, not only to be restored to his own possessions, with his friends and followers, but to be provided of a large and honourable maintenance from the King during his life. And thus this storm, which threatned both kingdoms with such fatal dangers and long consequences, was of a sudden blown over; a general calm restored in the whole island of Britain; and the two Kings returned to enjoy the fruits of a peace, to which they had both contributed by their equal temper and prudence, as well as by their equal preparations for a war.

Soon after the King's return, Edgar repaired into England, where he was very favourably received, and all conditions of the treaty performed, and

ever after observed with great faith and sincereness on both parts. He had his provisions and revenues (agreed by the treaty) fairly established; but being desirous to go to the wars of the Holy Land, which was the common humour of idle or devout Princes in that age, he was furnished by the King with great sums of money, to prepare and maintain a noble equipage for that journey. He there gained much honour and esteem; after which, returning into England, he passed the rest of his whole life in the ease and security of a large, but private fortune; and, perhaps, happier than he might have done in the contests and dangers of ambition, however they might have succeeded. A rare example of moderation in Prince Edgar, and of magnanimity, as well as justice and clemency in this King; and very different from several of his successors, who defamed their reigns by the death of innocent Princes, for having only been born to just rights of the Crown, without any appearing means or attempts to pursue them, or endanger the possessors; thereby staining their memories with the blots both of cruelty and fear. For clemency is produced by magnanimity and fearlesness of dangers, so is cruelty by cowardice and fear, and argues not only a depravedness of nature, but also a meanness of courage and imbecillity of mind; for which reason, it is both hated by all that are within its reach and danger, and despised by all that are without.

The King, upon his return, began again to apply himself to the arts of peace, which consist chiefly in the preventing of future, as those of war in the surmounting of present dangers. And as nothing raises the power of a Crown so much as weak and private conspiracies against it, rashly undertaken by some few discontents, unsupported by any general defections of the people, faintly pursued, and ending without success; so this Prince

found his throne and authority more firmly established, in all appearance, by the happy issue of the two late wars, and the unfortunate events of his revolted Nobles; and now esteemed himself more at liberty from those regards of his English subjects and their laws, which his unsettled state had made necessary upon his first accession to the Crown. He was provoked by the rebellions of so many of the greatest English Nobles, after their fealty sworn to him: he was persuaded of the general disaffection of the rest, and that the late insurrections would have been found much deeper rooted, and farther spread, if they had been attended with any success. He thought the English Lords and Bishops had too great dependence of their tenants and vassals upon them, and had themselves too little upon the Prince; since they esteemed themselves neither bound to attend him in the wars unless they pleased, nor to furnish the expences, unless by their own consent in their general assemblies: nor was he satisfied to have them judge of his necessities, whom he thought unlikeliest to increase them, or, at least, to desire them. He believed the English in general would, as long as they retained the Saxon laws and forms of government, ever be affected to the race of their Saxon Kings: and for this reason, he was thought to have encouraged the voyage of Edgar for the Holy Land, by so large supplies of treasure, under pretence of that Prince's honour, but from true intentions of his own safety. Besides, he found his treasures exhausted by the great charges of his two last expeditions, and the just rewards he had promised both his Normans, and those of the English who had well and faithfully served in them. Though he had once or twice (for it is left in doubt) levied the tax of Danegelt upon the threats of a Danish invasion, and, by an ancient prerogative of the Saxon Kings,

pretended or exercised upon that occasion; yet he found it was not raised without great murmur and reluctancy of the people, as well as the Nobles, who pretended to ancient liberties of paying no taxes imposed without the consent of their general assemblies, which began in this King's, or his son's time, first to be styled Parliaments according to the Norman phrase; whereas they had by the Saxons been called Gemoots, and, by their Latin writers, common councils, or general assemblies of the kingdom, though how composed is left uncertain, and has raised much argument and dispute.

All these considerations either moved or augmented at this time a design or inclination of this King to change the whole frame of the English government, to abolish their ancient laws and customs, and introduce those of Normandy, by which he thought he should be more absolute, and too powerful to be again disturbed by any insurrection at home, or any invasions from his enemies abroad.

So soon as he had digested, and began to discover this resolution, it is not to be imagined what a universal discontent, and, indeed, consternation, it raised among all his English subjects, who under so great a King, attended by his victorious Norman forces, reckoned upon no other safety, but from the preservation of their ancient laws, whereof he had hitherto assured them. Whereupon the whole people, sad and aggrieved, as well as the Nobles, in an humble manner, but with universal agreement, tendered an earnest petition to the King; beseeching him, in regard of his oath made at the coronation, and by the soul of St. Edward, from whom he had the Crown and kingdom, under whose laws they were born and bred, that he would not change them, and deliver them up to new and strange laws, which they understood not.

Upon this humble, but earnest application of the

whole English nation, united in their desires upon this occasion, the King, before he resolved, thought, at least, it was of weight to deserve the best deliberation, and thereupon fell into serious consultations upon it with his council, whom he found much divided in their debates. The Normans, among them, were for his executing with vigour what he had determined, for abolishing wholly the English laws, introducing the Norman, and maintaining his Crown and government by the same means he had gained them, which was by force and arms. They were encouraged in this opinion by presuming it agreed with the King's inclination, and were confirmed by the pressing arguments and advices of his brother Odon, Bishop of Bayeux, a man of a violent nature, arbitrary humour and will; who, in the time of the King's absence, and his being left vicegerent, had exercised many oppressions and cruel exactions upon the people, and had raised more clamour and hatred against the King's government, than any councils or actions of his own.

This ambitious Prelate, aspiring at the Papacy upon the next election, and despairing to obtain it by any other means than the force of money, neglected or refrained no ways of heaping up treasure, though none so sure of increasing his own, as by advancing the King's by an absolute power over the persons and purses of his subjects.

The English of the King's council were of a different opinion; but being parties in the case, had been little considered, without the support of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, who being born an Italian, was impartial to English and Normans, esteemed much by both, and more by the King. He was a man of sound natural sense and universal goodness, of general knowledge, known virtue, long experience, and approved wisdom; free and disinterested, and in all counsels considering the

King more than himself, and his true service and welfare of the Crown more than his humour or his inclination. The King ever advised with him in all the weighty affairs of his reign, allowed his liberty, and encouraged it, knowing him to be not only wise and good, but faithful to his interest, and affectionate to his person: happy in the choice or fortune of such a counsellor, and more in the disposition of hearing and weighing such advices, as were never so different from his own opinions or inclinations. Nor is any thing more dangerous for a Prince, than to consult only with persons that he thinks are of his own mind, or will be so when they know it; nor more pernicious in a counsellor, than to give only such advices as he thinks most agreeable to him that asks or receives them.

Lanfranc, upon this great and weighty occasion, represented to the King how much his safety depended upon the general satisfaction of his subjects: that of these, the English were much the greater part, both in strength and numbers; that no people could be easy under any laws, but such wherein they were born and bred: that all innovations were odious; but none could be more so, than this, as appeared by so universal agreement of the English in their petition: that the humility and calmness of it was more dangerous, than if any thing had been done in hot blood, and the refusal would be the more resented: that the laws and constitutions of this realm had been digested by the wisest councils, and confirmed by a long succession of their Kings: that under them the Saxons had been good and loyal subjects, and their Kings, who ruled by these laws, never troubled with any seditions or insurrections of their people: that, besides reason and experience, religion was concerned in this resolution, since the King had already

twice sworn solemnly to observe them: so as a change of them now would be taxed not only of injustice, but impiety: that nothing was of so much moment to a Prince as reputation, and none more than that of being a religious observer of his word and promise; but especially of his oaths, without which, he could never be trusted by his subjects or his neighbours.

The King heard and weighed all their reasons, and by them formed his own judgment, which he ever trusted in the last resort. Upon mature deliberation, as the case required, he at length resolved, not only to continue the laws and customs of the realm, but to give the people new and more evident assurances of this resolution: in pursuance whereof, he granted and confirmed them by a public and open charter, and thereby purchased the hearts as well as satisfaction of his English subjects, whereof he reaped the fruits in his succeeding troubles in Normandy and his wars with France.

Yet he could not refrain shewing the kindness he retained for his own country and language, introducing, by connivance, or by countenance, several Norman customs, and endeavouring to introduce that language to be general in the kingdom. To this end he caused many schools to be set up for teaching that tongue, which was a bastard French, not well understood by the French themselves, and not at all by the English. He caused the laws of the kingdom, which had been anciently written in Saxon, and by Edward the Confessor published also in Latin, to be now translated into Norman. He ordered all pleas in the several courts to be made in the same language, and all petitions presented the King, and all business of court, to be likewise in Norman. This introduced new terms, new forms of pleading and of process, new names of offices and of courts; and with them, all the li-

tigious customs and subtilties of the Norman pleas and conveyances (who were a witty but contentious people), instead of the old English simplicity, in their common suits, pleas, or conveyances, which were plain, brief, without perplexities, made with good meaning, kept with good faith, and so followed by little contention, and that determined by speedy justice, and decision of monthly courts in every county.

Among the Saxons, it was usual to grant lands and houses by bare words, and with the delivery of some trivial gift, as an horn, a sword, an arrow, a helmet, and yet the simple honesty of those times and people left such grants little subject to any disputes or contentions. But the Conqueror reduced all grants to writing, to signature, and to witnesses, which brought in cavils, and actions grounded upon punctilious errors in writing, mistakes in expression, which in much writing must sometimes happen, either by haste, weakness, or perhaps by fraud of conveyancers, and with design to leave matter of contentions, by which they subsist, as physicians by diseases.

Notwithstanding all these arts of the Prince, and industry of his Ministers, to introduce the Norman language in England, yet all was frustrated by the over balance of numbers in the nation, in proportion to the strangers, and assisted by a general aversion in the English to change their language, which they thought would be succeeded by that of their laws and liberties; so that in this very reign, instead of the English speaking Norman, the Normans began generally, by force of intermarriages, ordinary commèrce and conversation, to use the English tongue, which has ever since continued and composed the main body of our language, though changed, like others, by mixture of many new words and phrases, not only introduced by this

great revolution, but by the uses and accidents of each succeeding age.

It seems very remarkable, and very different, what happened in Scotland about this time, and upon this subject; for upon the great recourse of English Nobles and Gentlemen into Scotland, seeking refuge from the first dangers and terrors of the Norman conquest; and afterwards of many more who fled there in pursuit of Edgar's pretensions, and joined with the Scots in two invasions of England; but chiefly upon Malcolm's fond affection for his English wife, sister to Prince Edgar, his learning and commonly using or favouring her language, the usual compliance and conformity of Courtiers to the customs of their Prince, and the general humour of kindness in the Scots, at that time, to the person or rights of Edgar, and to all his adherents, that lost their own country, to follow his fortunes; the English language grew, in this King's reign, to be generally spoken, not only in the Court of Scotland, but in several countries thereunto adjacent, and among most of the Nobles in remoter provinces; and so it has ever since remained, as have many English families in those parts, habituated, and, with time, naturalized among them: and the ancient barbarous Scots tongue has been left current only in the more northern or northwest and mountainous parts of that kingdom, and in the islands that seem to have been first and most entirely possessed by the Scyths or Scots, who so long ago invaded and conquered the northern parts of Britain and Ireland.

The contrary of this unusual change in language appears to have succeeded in England, since in a little time nothing remained of the Norman language in common use, besides the translation of our common law, which, though deduced from the ancient Saxon streams, yet the sound, and forms,

and practice came to be Norman; like rivers which still run from their original sources, but yet often change their taste, from the soils through which they take their course, and sometimes from accidents of great inundations, which for the present change them, but leave them to return to their natural streams. A singular and instructive example, how strange a difference there is in the compliance of a nation with the humour of a Prince they love, or of one they fear.

Besides these changes in the language of our laws, and the forms of pleas, which were generally disaffected by the English subjects; this Norman King, either upon pretence of justice and piety, or else of necessity and safety, abolished several antient Saxon institutions, and made several new; which, how reasonable or how useful soever, yet bred ill blood among the Nobles and clergy of England; though the people contented themselves with the continuance of their antient laws, and thought all they did or suffered for the King's service well rewarded, while they might preserve what they called the laws of Edward the Confessor: and the King was so wise, as often to renew his oath to maintain them for the general satisfaction of the people.

For the rest, he took all jurisdiction and judgment in civil causes wholly out of the hands of the Bishops, where it had been placed in the whole Saxon succession, after their conversion to Christianity; and restrained the clergy to the exercise and administration of their ecclesiastical power. He endeavoured to abolish two ancient forms of trial used among the Saxons with great reverence, even during their Christian worship, though they were but remainders of their old Pagan superstition, but so rooted in the opinion of the people, as not to be dispossessed by new reason or religion:

these were the trials Ordeal and of Camp-fight. The first was either by fire or by water, and used only in criminal cases, where the accusation was strong, the suspicions great, but no proofs evident. In that of fire, the person accused was brought into an open place, upon even ground; several ploughshares heated red hot were laid before them, at unequal distances, over which they were to walk blindfold, and if they escaped any harm, were adjudged innocent; if their feet were burned by treading upon the hot irons, they were condemned as guilty. In the other of water, the accused were thrown into the water: if they sunk immediately, they were esteemed innocent, and guilty if they swam; either because it seemed against the nature of heavy bodies, or that the clear element would not receive them, but rejected them as polluted persons. The first trial was for those of better condition, and the other for those of inferior; and both were chiefly used upon accusations of unchastity, of poisoning, or of sorcery.

These trials, though grounded upon no reason, yet were thought approved by long experience; and the rather, I suppose, because any succeeding proofs of innocence were difficult to find, as any precedent evidence of guilt. And they were commonly called, the judgments of God, and performed with solemn oraisons and other ceremonies, that amused, or rather inchanted the ignorant people into an opinion of their being sacred, as well as just.

The trials of Camp-fight were performed by single combat, in lists appointed for that purpose, between the accuser and accused, and were usual in actions both real and criminal, where no evident proof of fact appeared from witnesses, or other circumstances: the victor was acquitted, and the vanquished, if not killed upon the field, was condemn-

ed. These were performed with great solemnities, and either in presence of the King, who granted the combat, or of certain judges by him appointed for that particular case.

Both these sorts of trials this King abolished, as unchristian and unjust, and reduced all causes to the judgment of equals, or of a jury of twelve neighbours, and by legal forms: yet the last was some few times used in succeeding reigns.

In the beginning of his reign, the kingdom had been much infested by outlaws and by robbers, and many Normans were secretly murthered by the hatred of the English, as they passed alone upon the ways or the fields, especially in the night. To remedy this last mischief, he imposed a heavy fine upon the hundred where the body of any Norman should be found slain, whether any discovery were made or no of the author or complices of the fact. For all rapes and robberies, he caused them to be punished so severely, by cruel mutilations of members and hardships of labour, as left them miserable spectacles, or warnings of their crimes, during the rest of their lives. By the rigour of these courses, and cutting off the chief cause of such offences, which grow from idleness and expences, he reduced the whole realm to such security, that it is recorded in his time, how a fair maiden, with a purse of gold in her hand, might have travelled through the realm, without any danger offered to her honour or her money.

Besides, to prevent any crimes that might be committed by favour or encouragement of the night, he ordered a bell to be rung in each parish, at eight o'clock in the winter, and nine in the summer; after which every man was to cover his fire, and stir no more abroad that night: and this was for that reason called, the Corfew, or Couvrefew bell.

For the safety of his state, he erected several

castles in many places most convenient of the kingdom; among which was the Tower of London, and New-Castle upon Tyne (either built, or by this King much enlarged), and garrisoned them by Norman or English soldiers; but all such as he most trusted, and who were ready in arms upon all occasions. Yet these forts were looked upon by the English as unnecessary in the times of peace, and as bridles upon the liberties of the people, rather than preventions of dangers to the Crown.

After these institutions, he applied himself to the increase, order, and establishment of his revenue; and having (as he believed) satisfied the people in general, by the confirmation of the ancient and beloved laws, he thought he might be bolder with the clergy, whom he knew to be generally his enemies, and whose clamours he the less feared, from his own known piety, in frequenting divine worship, in building and endowing several monasteries, in presents to many churches, both in England and Normandy; but especially, in great treasures which he sent frequently to Rome. Therefore, upon pretence of his enemies in the two last revolts (and such as were designed to be their complices) having conveyed their plate, money, and jewels into the several monasteries throughout the kingdom; he caused all the rich abbies to be searched, their money, plate, and jewels, which were not necessary, or of common use in divine service, to be seized; and thereby brought at once a mighty treasure into his coffers, but an inveterate hatred of the clergy upon his person and reign: and this was the last of those actions that by the envenomed pens of the monkish writers of that age, left such a charge upon the memory of this Prince, by the imputation of cruelty, oppression, violence, exaction, and the breach or change of laws of the kingdom, either human or divine; though the same

authors little considered how ill this agrees with the high characters they themselves give of his personal qualities and virtues. Nor is it probable that so vicious actions should proceed from so virtuous dispositions, or that so noble and excellent qualities of any Prince should be esteemed by the present age, or celebrated to posterity, which had been accompanied by cruel, infamous, or depraved actions during his life.

Having with these spoils of the clergy, as well as by the many forfeitures of the revolted Nobles, replenished his coffers for the present, he extended the care of his revenue not only to what might arrive in his own life, but also in the times of succeeding Kings. To this end, he sent commissioners into all the several counties of the whole realm, who took an exact survey, and described in a censual roll or book, all the lands, titles, and tenures throughout the whole kingdom. In this were distinctly set down, not only every barony, each knight's fee, every plow-land, but also what owners, by what tenures, at what rents or duties they held, and what stock they were possessed of, and how many villains upon their respective estates. All lands that held anciently of the Crown, or were by this King disposed upon forfeitures, he subjected to the usual tenures of baronies, or knight's fees, reserving in all the dominion in chief to himself, some quit-rents, or fines upon death and alienation: and likewise the custody of all heirs of such lands as were left under age, and the disposal of their fortunes, besides what was assigned for their maintenance, till they came to years of disposing their estates and themselves.

This book was composed after two old examples of the same kind, in the times of Ethelbert and Alfred, and was laid up as sacred in the church of Winchester; and for that reason, as graver authors

say, was called *Liber Domus Dei*, and by abbreviation, Domesday-book. The vulgar account is, that the name was derived from the nature, and so called, because every man was to receive his doom by that book, upon any dispute about the value, tenure, payments, or services of his lands, upon collection of the King's ordinary revenue, or the raising of any extraordinary taxes or impositions. And to make a precedent for the future, or to satisfy the great expences the King had been at, for the compiling this great roll of the kingdom, six shillings was raised upon every plow-land, which made the design of it less agreeable to the people; though every man's right thereby received a new evidence, and no injustice was complained of, in the digestion of so difficult a work, and of so various a nature. By this means, the King came to an easy and exact knowledge of his whole constant revenue, and so proportioned it to his expences, and the necessary cares of having always a fund or reserve of present treasure in his coffers, that after this time we never find him plunged in any difficulties for want of money, to supply many great occasions that ensued in his reign, nor tempted to impose any taxes upon his subjects, or other duties, than what were common and known, and paid without pressure or discontent among the commonalty of the realm: so as after all these institutions, he passed several years in great tranquillity at home, as well as honour from all his neighbour Princes.

About the thirteenth year of his reign, he went into Normandy, leaving his brother Odon Bishop of Bayeux, and created Earl of Kent, his Vicegerent in England; and little apprehending any storm after so long a fit of fair weather, or that he had left any ill blood behind him, that was like to gather to a head, with such an inflammation, and so dangerous symptoms, as soon after appeared. But

no condition of human life is ever perfectly secure, nor any force of greatness or of prudence beyond the reach of envy, and the blows of fortune. Princes, as well as private men, are often in most danger at those times, and in those parts, they think themselves the safest; as strong towers are sometimes taken on those sides that are thought impregnable, and so left undefended, or little regarded. This conquering King esteemed himself now at ease for the remainder of his life, and not only safe in his own strength, but the satisfaction of his subjects. The English he had pleased in general, by the preservation of their ancient laws; the bravest and warmest blood of their Nobles was drawn in the battle of Hastings, or the wars with Scotland; their power was weakened by so many confiscations, and the retreat of many more into Scotland and Ireland. The Normans were strong and numerous in England, and were his own by birth and by interest; the balance of these two parties seemed the defence of the whole; and it was not to be imagined, that both should combine in any danger to the Crown. Besides, there was left no pretension of any better right or title than his own, since Edgar had laid down his, not only in show, but with firm resolutions never to resume them.

But many of the English Nobles still hated the name of a conquest, resented the change of forms and language in their laws, the introduction of any new customs; but especially the rigour of the forest laws, which they knew to be arbitrary, and esteemed not only a restraint of their innocent liberties, but an indignity in particular to themselves. Some of the chief Norman Lords, who had obtained great possessions by the King's bounty, and the confiscations of the English, being now invested in their lands and in their titles, began to grow fond

of their laws, as the safest tenure; and though they had gained their great estates by the favour of the King, yet they were not willing to hold them at his pleasure; and so joined with the English Nobles in the complaints of too great power exercised by the King, and the jealousies of greater yet designed, to the prejudice of the ancient constitutions of the kingdom, and diminution of the authority or dependances of the Nobles. Some of both nations, and equally ambitious spirits, who had been most favoured and advanced by the King, yet valuing their own merits too high, or their rewards too low, thought they had nothing, because they had not all they pretended, esteemed the King's favour or bounty to any others, as injury to themselves, and were as unsatisfied with what they had gained, as others with what they had lost.

These dispositions floating at first in the minds of several great Nobles, both English and Norman, and inflamed by such of the ecclesiastics who had credit in the great families of both nations, grew at length to downright conspiracy of dispossessing the King of his Crown, and introducing the Danes, who were allied to many great Lords in England, were esteemed by the Normans of the same race with their ancestors. The chief of this conspiracy were the Earls of Norfolk and Suffolk, of greatest power among the English Nobility; Fitz Auber, a Norman, of near kindred to the King, and who had assisted him with forty ships upon his English expedition, and been recompensed with mighty possessions in England, and created Earl of Hereford; the Earl Waltheof, who had been pardoned his revolt, upon the Scots invasion, married to the King's niece, and ever since intimately trusted, as well as favoured by the King. These entered secretly into intelligence with Swane King of Denmark, and with Harold's sons, who were still re-

fuged in Ireland: the first engaged to invade the northern parts with a navy of three hundred sail: the last, by the assistance of Drone King of Ireland, to attempt the western coasts with sixty ships; and the discontented Lords, to make a strong insurrection in some of the northern provinces, upon approach of the Danish fleet, which was concerted to be soon after the King's intended journey into Normandy.

These measures were laid with such caution, and pursued with such secrecy, that all was ready to be executed, before the King in Normandy, or his Ministers in England, had either notice or suspicion of any such dangers or designs. Fitz Auber had asked the King's leave some months before his Norman journey, to marry his sister to the Earl of Norfolk, and pretended some small discontent at his refusal. Not long after his departure he declared the marriage, and the day appointed to consummate it in Norfolk with great solemnity, and the recourse of the nearest relations and most intimate friends on both sides, among whom were the Earl Waltheof, and Eustace Earl of Bologne, who came over on purpose to assist at the consultations here designed. At this meeting all was agreed; in what parts of the kingdom, under what leaders the several insurrections should be made, upon what pretences, and the time appointed to be when the Danish fleet should appear upon the coast.

But some delays intervening, which are fatal to all conspiracies that are trusted into many hands, this was discovered some days before the Danes arrived; but by whom of the accomplices is left uncertain, though some write, that it was by Earl Waltheof, upon the conscience of so great an ingratitude to the King.

After the full and particular discovery of the whole plot, and all the chief conspirators, Odon

the Vicegerent, with the assistance and advice of the King's council, immediately dispatched away several parties of the King's best troops into the several parts where the insurrections were intended to begin, seized upon many of the conspirators before others had notice of the discovery, broke the rest before they could draw to a head, took Earl Waltheof and Fitz Auber prisoners, who were beheaded upon this occasion, and many others imprisoned. Whether this execution was by the King's command out of Normandy, or by the rigour of his brother Odon, and upon pretence of necessity in so dangerous a conjuncture, is not recorded; but it is agreed, that these two were the only nobles that were executed in England during the reign of William the Conqueror, notwithstanding so many revolts, and so much power to punish and revenge them; which serves to make up that character of clemency of nature that is allowed this Prince, among his other virtues, even by those writers who are severest upon his memory.

Both the Danes and the Irish fleets were upon the English coasts, when they first received the news of their confederates discovery and disasters, upon which they returned to Denmark and to Ireland; and after this time, the Danes never again attempted any invasion upon England, nor was this conqueror any more infested or disturbed by any of his English subjects, during the rest of his reign; finding the conspiracy wholly suppressed, and the kingdom in perfect tranquillity upon his return, which he had yet hastened out of Normandy, upon the intelligence of his danger in England, and ignorance how deep it was rooted, or where it might end.

Nor was it easy to conjecture, since it was believed by wise men in that age, that the weakness and ill success of this conspiracy proceeded chiefly

from the want of some popular pretension, that might have raised a commotion of the people in favour of the Lords; and, that if this had been designed in defence of Edgar's known rights to the Crown, and spirited by that Prince at the head of so many English and Norman Lords as were engaged in it, the throne had been endangered by this last shake. But the unfortunate Prince Edgar had made his first pretensions too late, and his last submissions too soon; and the Danish title was hated by the commons of England, though favoured by many of the Nobles, and thereby wanted the foundation proper and necessary to raise any firm building. Thus the infelicity of some Princes may be occasioned only by ill-timing their councils, when to attempt, and when to desist, in the justest endeavours; and the greatness of others may be raised and preserved by unforeseen accidents, where the greatest reach of foresight and conduct might have failed. For had Edgar been at liberty to pursue his rights, upon this conjunction of the English and Norman Nobility, he might probably have gained the Crown; and had not some of the chief complices discovered the conspiracy, the Conqueror might as probably have lost it.

However these fortunes came to attend him thus far of his reign, yet here the curtain may be drawn over the happy scenes of this Prince's life: for the next that must open, will represent him in the decline of his age; embroiled in domestic quarrels, which could neither end in glory nor in gains; assaulted by his own children; opposed by his native subjects; forced to use strangers to reduce them to duty and obedience, after two dangerous revolts; and when these troubles were appeased, after much anguish of mind, and many dangers, engaged by a trivial accident, and without any design, in a foreign war, with a powerful Prince; which,

though pursued with his usual vigour and fortune, it first cost him his health, and at last his life.

William the Conqueror had by his wife Matild, daughter to Baldwin Count of Flanders, four sons, Robert, Richard, William, and Henry, besides several daughters. Richard was a Prince of the greatest hopes, but unfortunately killed by a stag, while he was hunting in the new forest: his untimely fall was much lamented by the King, but less by the people, who interpreted it as a judgment upon him, for the mighty wastes he had made to extend the bounds of that forest, and for the rigour and oppression of the forest laws. The other three survived their father; but with very different fortunes as well as merits, and very unequally distributed.

The King, before his expedition into England, had promised his eldest son Robert the dukedom of Normandy, in case he conquered the kingdom he then pretended: this promise was made before the King of France, and challenged by Robert after the King's first establishment upon the English throne. But the King, though he denied not the promise he had made, yet long delayed the performance, upon pretence of his unsettled state in England, from the discontents of his Nobles, and the Scots invasions, which made it necessary for him to keep Normandy as a retreat upon any great misfortune or revolution in England. Duke Robert seemed content with these reasons, whilst they were justified by the appearances of any dangers in England; but perceiving they were ceased, and yet the delays continued, he grew at length impatient, and about the fourteenth year of the King's reign assumed the government of Normandy, as Sovereign; and, in his own right, caused the Barons to swear fealty to him, as to the Duke, and not as his father's Lieutenant, and was re-

ceived and obeyed by the Normans, who grew weary of a subordinate government, and thought they deserved the presence of that Prince among them, which they had enjoyed since the first establishment of their possessions in France.

Besides, Robert was generally beloved, as a Prince courteous, generous, and brave, though withal ambitious, unquiet, and uncertain: yet these dispositions, both of Prince and people, had not alone induced him to engage in so bold a resolution, with such a breach of his duty and his trust, without the practices and instigations of the King of France, who, grown jealous of King William's greatness, and envious of his felicity, found no better way of lessening both, than to kindle this fire in his own house; and thereby the most sensibly to disquiet his mind, as well as to disjoint his state, and divide his power. He therefore not only encouraged Robert, but combined with him in his attempt, and engaged to support him with his forces, if his father disputed longer the justice of his claim.

The King, though at first discomposed at the news of this insolence in his son, yet believing it had no deeper root, but what would soon wither or be cut off by his presence in Normandy, gathered immediately what forces he could raise, and with an army of his English subjects sailed over now to invade Normandy, as he had done before to invade England with his Normans. A strange revolution to befall one Prince, in so short a period of time, and which made as great a change in his dispositions as his fortunes; for the great alacrity and faithfulness which the English expressed towards him in this expedition, gained so far upon his affections and confidence, that in the rest of his reign, and his succeeding wars, he seemed to place his chief trust in the courage and loyalty of his English subjects.

Duke Robert, informed of his father's preparations, neglected not his own; and though surprized at the suddenness of his arrival, to which the winds had conspired, he could not oppose his landing; yet soon after he was in the field at the head of a brave Norman army, and of two thousand men at arms which the King of France had sent to his assistance. With these forces he marched against the King, fell upon his vanguard, and by the success of an ambush he had laid in an advantageous pass, he broke them, killed some, and put the rest to flight: then he advanced against the main body, where the King commanded; and by an unnatural chance, he charged his old father with such fury, that, by the stroke of his launce he wounded him in the arm, and overthrew him to the ground. The King calling out upon his fall, his son immediately knew his voice, and stung, upon the sudden, with the conscience of his crime and his duty, he leaped from his horse, raised his father up from the ground, fell down upon his knees, begged pardon of his offences, with offers, upon it, to return to his duty and obedience. The King, moved by the same force of nature, received his submissions, forgave him, and embracing him, ended an adventure in tears of joy, which had begun in blood. The armies were as easily reconciled as their leaders, and all together marched to Rouen, where the King was received with all demonstrations of joy, and the Duke complimented upon his happy reconcilement with his father; nor were those the last in this crowd of rejoicers, who had been the chief in promoting the quarrel between them.

The King made no long stay in Normandy, dissembling the knowledge or resentment of what part the French King had played in this affair; but after having re-established the quiet and order of the province, returned with his whole forces into

England, left his son in the government of Normandy, trusting to his duty, and the loyalty of his subjects there, as if nothing had passed to give him the least suspicions of either. A true strain of the noble and fearless nature of this Prince, who was rather made to surmount all dangers he encountered, by brave actions and judicious councils, than either to invite or anticipate his misfortunes, by distrust and vain apprehensions, which are but the distractions of weak and timorous minds.

Yet this sincereness and confidence of the King had not the return they deserved; for Duke Robert having once tasted the Sovereign power, could not long digest any dependance upon another's will; and lying still open to the practices of France upon his levity and ambition, relapsed the next year into his former distemper, and assumed again the sovereignty of Normandy, and as Duke thereof in his own right; which was again acknowledged and obeyed by the Normans.

The King, upon the news of this second defection in his son and his subjects, fell into great passion, and in it is said to have cursed his son, and the hour wherein he begat him: but soon returning to himself, with his usual judgment and composure of mind, gave present orders for preparing a much greater army and navy than he had used in the last year's expedition; and though both were shattered by great storms he met with at sea, yet, upon his arrival in Normandy, either the fame of his forces, or the lightness of his son's dispositions, or remorse of his duty, prevailed with Duke Robert to offer again his submissions and obedience to his commands. The King again received them, pardoned both his son and his revolted subjects; but forced now to more caution than he had used before, after having settled once more the peace and quiet of Normandy, and placed the govern-

ment in safer hands, he took his son with him into England, and employed him in the hard rough wars of Scotland, against Malcolm, who upon the King's absence, and confidence of being long detained by the Norman revolt and diversion of France, had taken occasion to pass the borders with an army, and ravage the northern provinces of England.

Though Duke Robert gained no great honour by this expedition, yet the King gained his end; for the Scots, disheartened by his unexpected return, and more by his perfect reconcilement with his son, returned home upon the approach of the English army, and renewed the peace, which lasted the rest of the two Kings lives.

About the same time, incensed against the Welsh for many inroads and spoils upon the frontier counties, he sent an army against them, subdued the plain and accessible parts of their country, drove them to the fast holds of their mountains, forced them to sue for a peace, which he granted upon homage done him by their Prince, and upon hostages given for performance of the other conditions.

This fortunate and victorious King seemed now to have passed all the tempestuous seasons of his life, and secure of repose for what remained; which was necessary or most agreeable to the great decline of his age. He was at peace with all his neighbours, obeyed and honoured by his subjects, feared by his enemies, and the troubles of his family were wholly appeased; so that it was hard for any man to conjecture from what side any new storm should arise. But the decrees of Heaven are wrapped up in the clouds, and the events of future things hidden in the dark from the eyes of mortal men. The wisest councils may be discomposed by the smallest accidents, and the securest peace of estates and kingdoms may be disturbed by the lightest

passions, as well as the deep designs of those who govern them: for though the wise reflexions of the best Historians, as well as the common reasonings of private men, are apt to ascribe the actions and councils of Princes to interests or reasons of State; yet, whoever can trace them to their true spring will be often forced to derive them from the same passions and personal dispositions which govern the affairs of private lives, as will be evident in the sequel of this King's reign.

The Normans were desirous to have a Prince of their race reside among them: the King was unwilling to venture again the ill consequences of his son Robert's ambition or inconstancy, and therefore sent him over into Normandy, but joined in commission with his youngest son Henry, whose duty and affection he most relied on, both to observe the actions and temper the levity of his eldest brother.

These two Princes agreed better than is usual to associates in power; and governing the province with moderation and prudence, reduced affairs there to such order and tranquillity, that having little business at home, they went to seek some diversion abroad, and made a visit to the King of France then at Constance, who received them with honour and kindness; and, as was thought, not without design of renewing old practices with Duke Robert, to his father's prejudice. Whatever affairs might busy the thoughts of that King and the Duke, those of Lewis the young Dauphine and Prince Henry were taken up with the common entertainments of youth and of leisure, love, hunting, play, and other such divertisements, wherein the similitude of age and of customs made them constant companions. It happened one evening, that the Dauphine playing at chess, at the Prince's lodging, lost a great many games, and much money

to Prince Henry, and grew thereupon first into ill humour, and at length into ill language, which being returned by the Prince, the Dauphine fell into passion, called him son of a bastard, and threw some of the chessmen at his head: upon which Prince Henry, inraged, took up the chess-board, and struck the Dauphine with such fury on the head, that he laid him bleeding on the ground, and had killed him, if his brother Robert had not retained him, and made him sensible how much more it concerned him to make his escape than pursue his revenge; and thereupon they went down immediately, took horse, and by the help of their speed, or their own good fortune, got safe to Pontoise, before they could be reached by the French that pursued them.

The King of France, exasperated by this accident and indignity to his son, which revived an inveterate malice or envy he had against King William, first demanded satisfaction, but at the same time prepared for revenge, both by raising an army to invade Normandy, and taking private measures with Duke Robert to divest his brother Henry of his share in the government, and leave the dominion of that duchy to the Duke, according to his former pretensions, grounded upon his father's promise, wherein the King of France, as a witness, still pretended to be concerned.

The King of England seeing the war inevitable, enters upon it with his usual vigour, and, with incredible celerity transporting a brave English army, invades France, and takes several towns in Poictou, whilst the French took the city of Vernon. By which hostilities on both sides, the first war began between England and France, which seemed afterwards to have been intailed upon the posterity and successors of these two Princes for so many generations, to have drawn more noble blood, and been

attended with more memorable atchievements than any other national quarrel we read of in any ancient or modern story.

King William, after taking of several towns and spoiling much country in Poictou and Xantonge, returned to Rouen, where, by the benignity of his own nature and levity of his son's, he was the third time reconciled to Duke Robert, and thereby disappointed those hopes the King of France had conceived from his practices with that Prince; (and, as some write, with his brother Henry too) and defeated his pretext of assisting his right in the dominion of Normandy.

But Philip, bent upon this war by other incentives than those which appeared from the favour of Duke Robert's pretensions, or revenge of the Dauphine's injury, and moved both with the jealousy of the King's greatness, and the envy of his glory and felicity, resolved to prosecute obstinately the quarrel he had rashly begun: and not esteeming the sudden, though violent motions of a youthful heat between the two Princes a ground sufficient to bear the weight of a formal and declared war, upon the news and spight of Duke Robert's reconciliation with his father, he sent to the King to demand homage of him both for Normandy and England; King William answered, that he was ready to do him the homage accustomed for Normandy, but would do him none for England, which he held only of God and his sword. The French King hereupon declared open war against him, which was begun and pursued with great heat and animosities on both sides, with equal forces, but unequal fortune; which favoured either the justice of the King's cause, the valour of his troops, or the conduct of the leader, upon all encounters.

He marched into France, took Nantes, and burnt it, with many villages about it, saying, that to de-

stroy the wasps, their nests must be burnt. In the heat of this action, and by that of the fires, which he too near approached, he fell into a distemper, which forced him to retire his army, and return to Rouen, where he lay sick for some time, with ill symptoms, that gave his friends apprehension, and hopes to his enemies. During the expectation of this event both sides were quiet, by a sort of tacit and voluntary truce between them. The King of France talking of his sickness, and mocking at the corpulency to which he was grown of late years, said, King William was gone only to lay his great belly at Rouen, and that he doubted he must be at charge to set up lights at his up-rising. The King of England being told this scoff, sent King Philip word, that he was ready to sit up after his lying-in, and that when he was churched he would save him the charge of setting up lights, and come himself, and light a thousand fires in France.

No injuries are so sensible to mankind in general as those of scorn, and no quarrels pursued between Princes with so much sharpness and violence as those which arise from personal animosities or private passions, to which they are subject like other mortal men. The King recovered, gathered the greatest forces he could raise, both of English and Normans, marches into the Isle of France, with fire and spoil wherever he came, approaches within sight of Paris, where that King was retired: there King William sent him word, that he was up, and abroad, and would be glad to see him abroad too.

But the French King resolved to let this fury pass, and appeared not in the field, which was left to the mercy and ravage of his enemies. The King riding about to observe his advantages, and give his orders, and straining his horse to leap a ditch in his way, bruised the bottom of his belly against the pommel of his saddle, with such a weight, and so

much pain, as gave him a relapse of his illness so lately recovered, forced him to march his army back into Normandy, and to go himself to Rouen. Here his bruise turned to a rupture, and his sickness increasing with the anguish of his wound, gave too soon and true apprehensions of his danger: yet he languished for some time, which he made use of to do many acts of great charity, and give other testimonies of piety and resignation to the will of God, as well as to dispose the succession and affairs of his State; leaving by his testament the duchy of Normandy to his eldest son Robert, the kingdom of England to William his second son, and all his treasures, which were very great, to Henry his third. After this he ended his life in the full career of fortune and victory, which attended him to his grave, through the long course of more than threescore years reign. For he began that in Normandy about ten years old, and continued it above forty years before his English expedition, after which he reigned above twenty years in England, and died in or about the seventy-second year of his age, and the year of our Lord 1087.

Several writers shew their ill talent to this Prince, in making particular remarks, how his corpse was immediately forsaken by all his friends and followers, as soon as he expired; how the monks of an abbey he had founded, were thereby induced to come of charity, and take care of his body and his burial, which he had ordered to be at Caen in Normandy, and in a church he had there built; how the ground that was opened to receive him, was claimed at that instant by a Knight of the country, who alledged it had belonged to his ancestors and himself, and was violently or unjustly seized from them by the King, so that his funeral was fain to be deferred till an agreement was made, and the value of the ground paid to the claimer:

with other invidious circumstances, which may argue the ingratitude, avarice, or other vices of his servants or subjects then living, but not defame the memory or obscure the glory of the dead.

Thus ended all that was mortal of this noble King and this renowned Conqueror: for his fame will never die, but remain for ever in the lasting records of time and monuments of glory, among the Princes most celebrated for their brave atchievements in war, their wise institutions in peace, the length and prosperity of their lives and their reigns. In all which he must with justice be confessed, not to have been equalled by many, if, indeed, by any we read of in story.

I have made no mention of any great councils or assemblies held in this King's reign, because I find no clear evidence of the nature or constitution, the times or the occasions of them, whether like those used in the Saxon reigns, or like the parliaments in Normandy; or whether that style was introduced here in this King's time, or that of his son's, who succeeded him. It appears, that he often assembled the Nobles and Barons of the realm; but whether upon the solemnity of some great festivals, or of some occasions of more importance, either for the honour of his Court, or consultation of his affairs, I find not so well recorded, nor so easy to determine, as some will have it. It is agreed only, that there were two general assemblies of the clergy; one about the sixth year of his reign, upon a controversy between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York about the primacy, which was therein determined in favour of the first: the other about erecting some new bishopricks, or translating their Sees from some decayed and smaller towns, to others grown in that age more populous and opulent. The Litchfield Chronicle also relates, how in the fourth year of his reign, he summoned out

of every county the Nobles, the wise men, and such as were learned in their own law, that he might from them learn what were their ancient laws and customs. After which the laws of St. Edward were conserved, and by him confirmed throughout the whole kingdom.

I have not been so particular as other writers in the names of places, or of persons, or distinction of years; because in such antiquity of times and variety of authors, I find them very hard to be ascertained. Besides, the disagreement among writers is so great, in assigning the years to the several actions of this Prince, that so important an affair as that of framing the Doomsday-book, is by some referred to the eighth, by others to the thirteenth, and by some to the nineteenth year of his reign: and many others are left in the same uncertainty.

I have likewise omitted the accounts and remarks, wherein some writers have busied their pens, of strange comets, inclemencies of seasons, raging diseases, or deplorable fires, that are said to have happened in this age and kingdom; and are represented by some as judgments of God upon this King's reign: because I rather esteem them accidents of time or chance, such as happen in one part or other of the world, perhaps, every age, at some periods of time, or from some influence of stars, or by the conspiring of some natural or casual circumstances; and neither argue the virtues or vices of Princes, nor serve for example or instruction to posterity, which are the great ends of history, and ought to be the chief care of all historians.

For this reason, as well as to comply with common custom, it may not be improper or unnecessary to end the wise, politic, and prosperous reign with the just character of this renowned Prince. Since all great actions in the world, and revolutions

of states, may be truly derived from the genius of the persons that conduct and govern them; so as by comparing both together, and observing the causes as well as events, it may be easy to discern, by what personal qualities and dispositions of Princes, the happy and glorious successes of their own fortunes, with the greatness and felicity of their states, are generally atchieved; for to attribute such great events to time, or to chance, were to destroy the examples, and confound the consequences of all virtues and vices among men.

William, surnamed The Conqueror, was of the tallest stature among those common in his age and country; his size large, and his body strong built, but well proportioned: his strength such, as few of his Court could draw his bow: his health was great and constant, which made him very active in his business and pleasures, till about the decline of his age he grew something corpulent. From all which, I suppose, came the story in some Norman writers, that he was eight feet high, or the size of Hercules.

As he was of goodly personage, so his face was lovely, but of a masculine beauty, the lines being strong rather than delicate: his eyes were quick and lively, but when moved something fierce: his complexion sanguine: his countenance very pleasant, when he was gay and familar; when he was serious, something severe.

His pastimes were chiefly hunting and feasting: in the first he spent much time, used great exercise, and yet much moderation of diet. In his feasts, which were designed for magnificence or conversation, to know or to be known among his Nobles, and not for luxury, he was courteous, affable, familiar, and often pleasant; and, which made him the more so to his company, was easy at those times in granting suits and pardons.

It is by all agreed, that he was chaste and temperate, which, with a happy constitution and much exercise, preserved not only his health, but vigour, to the last decline of his age.

He was of sound natural sense, and shewed it not only in his own conduct and reasoning upon all great occasions, but also in the choice of his ministers and friends, where no Prince was happier or wiser than he.

He talked little, never wanted, observed much, was very secret, and used only Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury with an universal confidence, both as a counsellor and a friend; to whom he was ever meek and gentle, though to others something austere; as if this Conqueror had been himself subdued by the wisdom and virtue of that excellent man.

In his purposes he was steady, but not obstinate, and though constant to his ends, yet appliable to occasions; as appeared by his favouring and trusting the Normans in his troubles of England, and the English in those of Normandy; and was either very wise or very happy in the arts of gaining enemies and retaining friends, having never lost but one, which was Fitz-Auber.

He was a Prince deep in his designs, bold in his enterprizes, firm in his prosecution, excelling in the order and discipline of his armies, and choice in his officers, both of his army and his state: but admirable in expedition and dispatch of civil as well as military affairs, never deferring till to-morrow what should be done to-day.

Above all, he was careful and prudent in the management of his treasure, and finding a temper between the bounty of his own nature and the necessity of his affairs, proportioning always the expences of his gifts, his buildings, his enterprizes, to the treasure he was master of for defraying

them, designing nothing out of his compass, and thereby compassing all he seemed to design.

He was religious in frequenting divine service, giving much alms, building abbies and endowing them, sending presents of crosses of gold, rich vestures and plate to many other churches, and much treasure to Rome.

He was a great lover of learning; and though he despised the loose ignorant Saxon clergy he found in England, yet he took care and pleasure to fill ecclesiastical dignities here with persons of great worth and learning from abroad, as Lanfranc, Durand, Anselm, with many more.

He was a lover of virtue in others, and a hater of vice; for being naturally very kind to his half brother Odon Bishop of Bayeux, having made him Earl of Kent, given him great revenues, intrusted him in his absence with the government of the realm; yet finding him a man of incurable ambition, avarice, cruelty, oppression, and profaneness, he at length wholly disgraced him, and kept him in prison during all the rest of his reign; which seems to have been a just punishment of his crimes, and sacrifice to the English he had cruelly oppressed in the King's absence, rather than a greediness of his treasures, as some envious writers would make it appear.

Yet by the consent of them all, and the most partial or malicious to his memory, as well as others, he is agreed to have been a Prince of great strength, wisdom, courage, clemency, magnificence, wit, courtesy, charity, temperance, and piety. This short character, and by all agreed, is enough to vindicate the memory of this noble Prince and famous Conqueror, from the aspersions or detractions of several malicious or partial authors, who have more unfaithfully represented his reign than any other period of our English history.

Having taken a full view of this King in his actions and his person, it remains only, that we consider the consequences that both of them had upon the condition of this kingdom, which will be best discovered by the survey of what it lost, what it preserved, and what it gained by this famous conquest.

England thereby must be confessed to have lost; first, very great numbers of brave Englishmen, who fell in the battle of Hastings, and in two wars afterwards, by the revolt of the Nobles and invasion of the Scots in favour of Edgar Atheling. Likewise many Nobles and Gentlemen, who, disdaining all subjection to a foreign and conquering power, retired into Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, and after the extinction of their hopes by the suppression of all endeavours in favour of Edgar's right, never returned, but left their families habituated in those countries, chusing, if they must live under a foreign dominion, to do it rather abroad than at home.

In the next place, England lost the true line of their ancient Saxon Kings, who were a race of just, good, and pious Princes, governed by such known laws, and with such moderation, and were so beloved of their people, as makes it observed by writers, that no popular insurrection ever happened in any of the Saxon reigns.

Lastly, England by the conquest lost, in a great measure, the old plainness and simplicity of the Saxon times and customs of life, who were generally a people of good meaning, plain dealing, contented with their own, little coveting or imitating their neighbours, and living frugally upon the product of their own fruitful soil: for the profusion of meats at our English tables came in with the Danes, and the luxury of them was introduced first by the Normans, and after increased by the more frequent use of wines, upon the accession of Guienne to his Crown.

What we preserved, is remarkable in three particulars not usual upon great conquests; for, first, we preserved our name, which was lost by the Saxon invasions, but that of England then (succeeding the other of Britain) has ever since continued.

Next, we preserved our language, or the old English tongue, which has made the body and substance of what still remains, though much enlarged and polished since those times, by the transplanting many words out of foreign languages, especially Latin and French.

In the last place, we preserved our forms of government, our laws and institutions, which have been so much celebrated by ancient writers, and have been so obstinately defended by our ancestors; and are by Chancellor Fortescue, who writ in the time of Henry the Sixth, averred to have been preserved through the five several governments in this island, of Normans, Danes, Saxons, Romans, and Britains, and so to have continued for a longer course of time than those of Rome or Venice, or any other nation known in story. But this, I doubt, is not so easily proved as affirmed, though it may be with more certainty of the three first, which is sufficient to illustrate the antiquity of our constitutions, without recourse to strained or uncertain allegations.

For what we gained by our loss in this conquest, though it seems a contradiction, yet it may be observed in many more particulars than the other two.

First, England grew much greater, both in dominion and power abroad, and also in dignity and state at home, by the accession of so much territory upon the continent. For, though the Normans by the conquest gained much of the English lands and riches, yet England gained Normandy, which by it became a province to this Crown.

Next, it gained greater strength by the great numbers of Normans and French, that came over with the Conqueror, and after his establishment here; and incorporated with the English nation, joining with them in the same language, laws, and interests.

Then we gained much by the great increase of our naval power, and multitude of ships, wherein Normandy then abounded, by the advantage of more and better havens than in latter ages. This, with the perpetual intercourse between England and Normandy, and other parts of the continent, gave us a mighty increase of trade and commerce, and thereby of treasure to the Crown and kingdom; which appeared first in so great a mass, as was left by the Conqueror to Prince Henry his younger son.

England, by the conquest, gained likewise a natural right to the dominion of the narrow seas, which had been before acquired only by the great naval power of Edgar, and other Saxon Kings. But the dominion of the narrow seas seems naturally to belong, like that of rivers, to those who possess the banks or coasts on both sides; and so to have strengthened the former title, by so long a coast as that of Normandy of one side, and of England on the other side of the channel.

Besides, by this conquest we gained more learning, more civility, more refinement of language, customs, and manners, from the great resort of other strangers, as well as mixture of French and Normans.

And, lastly, we gained all our consideration abroad, by carrying our arms so often and so gloriously, as well as extending our dominions, into foreign countries: so that whereas our Saxon Kings were little known abroad, farther than by the fame of their devotion and piety, or their journeys, gifts,

and oblations made to Rome; after the conquest, the Crown of England grew first to be feared by our neighbours, to have constant intercourse with other foreign Princes, to take part and be considered in all the affairs of Christendom; and by the following accessions of Anjou and Guienne, came, in a short time, to be esteemed, without controversy, while they possessed those dominions, the greatest power of any kingdom then in Christendom; as appears by so many glorious adventures and successes of their arms in France, Spain, Britany, Flanders, Sicily, and the Holy-Land.

From all these happy circumstances of this famous conquest, all the succeeding Kings of England seem justly to have done this Conqueror the honour of dating from him the first great period of their reigns: by which those of the Saxons, and other preceding dominions or governments here, are left us in story, but like so many antique, broken, or defaced pictures, which may still represent something of the customs and fashions of those ages, though little of the true lines, proportions, or resemblance. But all that has succeeded since this King's reign, though not drawn by any one skilful hand, or by the life, yet is represented in so clear a light, as leaves very little either obscure or uncertain in the history of our kingdom, or the succession of our Kings.

UPON THE

GARDENS OF EPICURUS;

OR,

OF GARDENING,

IN THE YEAR 1685.

THE same faculty of reason, which gives mankind the great advantage and prerogative over the rest of the creation, seems to make the greatest default of human nature; and subjects it to more troubles, miseries, or at least disquiets of life, than any of its fellow creatures: it is this furnishes us with such variety of passions, and consequently of wants and desires, that none other feels; and these followed by infinite designs and endless pursuits, and improved by that restlessness of thought which is natural to most men, give him a condition of life suitable to that of his birth; so that, as he alone is born crying, he lives complaining and dies disappointed.

Since we cannot escape the pursuit of passions and perplexity of thoughts which our reason furnishes us, there is no way left, but to endeavour all we can either to subdue or to divert them. This last is the common business of common men, who seek it by all sorts of sports, pleasures, play, or business. But, because the two first are of short continuance, soon ending with weariness, or decay of vigour and appetite, the return whereof must be at-

tended before the others can be renewed; and because play grows dull if it be not enlivened with the hopes of gain, the general diversion of mankind seems to be business, or the pursuit of riches in one kind or other; which is an amusement that has this one advantage above all others, that it lasts those men who engage in it to the very ends of their lives; none ever growing too old for the thoughts and desires of increasing his wealth and fortunes, either for himself, his friends, or his posterity.

In the first and most simple ages of each country, the conditions and lives of men seem to have been very near of kin with the rest of the creatures: they lived by the hour, or by the day, and satisfied their appetite with what they could get from the herbs, the fruits, the springs they met with when they were hungry or dry; then, with what fish, fowl, or beasts they could kill, by swiftness or strength, by craft or contrivance, by their hands, or such instruments as wit helped or necessity forced them to invent. When a man had got enough for the day, he laid up the rest for the morrow, and spent one day in labour that he might pass the other at ease; and lured on by the pleasure of this bait, when he was in vigour, and his game fortunate, he would provide for as many days as he could, both for himself and his children, that were too young to seek out for themselves. Then he cast about, how by sowing of grain, and by pasture of the tamer cattle, to provide for the whole year. After this, dividing the lands necessary for these uses, first among children, and then among servants, he reserved to himself a proportion of their gain, either in the native stock, or something equivalent, which brought in the use of money; and where this once came in, none was to be satisfied, without having enough for himself and his family, and all his and

their posterity for ever; so that I know a certain Lord who professes to value no lease, though for an hundred or a thousand years, nor any estate or possession of land, that is not for ever and ever.

From such small beginnings have grown such vast and extravagant designs of poor mortal men: yet none could ever answer the naked Indian, why one man should take pains, and run hazards by sea and land all his life, that his children might be safe and lazy all theirs: and the precept of taking no care for to-morrow, though never minded as impracticable in the world, seems but to reduce mankind to their natural and original condition of life. However, by these ways and degrees, the endless increase of riches seems to be grown the perpetual and general amusement or business of mankind.

Some few in each country make those higher flights after honour and power, and to these ends sacrifice their riches, their labour, their thought, and their lives; and nothing diverts nor busies men more than these pursuits, which are usually covered with the pretences of serving a man's country, and of public good. But the true service of the public is a business of so much labour and so much care, that though a good and wise man may not refuse it, if he be called to it by his Prince or his country, and thinks he can be of more than vulgar use, yet he will seldom or never seek it, but leaves it commonly to men who, under the disguise of public good, pursue their own designs of wealth, power, and such bastard honours as usually attend them, not that which is the true, and only true reward of virtue.

The pursuits of ambition, though not so general, yet are as endless as those of riches, and as extravagant; since none ever yet thought he had power or empire enough: and what Prince soever seems to be so great, as to live and reign without any fur-

ther desires or fears, falls into the life of a private man, and enjoys but those pleasures and entertainments which a great many several degrees of private fortune will allow, and as much as human nature is capable of enjoying.

The pleasures of the senses grow a little more choice and refined: those of imagination are turned upon embellishing the scenes he chooses to live in; ease, conveniency, elegancy, magnificence, are sought in building first, and then in furnishing houses or palaces: the admirable imitations of nature are introduced by pictures, statues, tapestry, and other such atchievements of arts. And the most exquisite delights of sense are pursued, in the contrivance and plantation of gardens; which, with fruits, flowers, shades, fountains, and the music of birds that frequent such happy places, seem to furnish all the pleasures of the several senses, and with the greatest, or at least the most natural perfections.

Thus the first race of Assyrian Kings, after the conquests of Ninus and Semiramis, passed their lives, till their empire fell to the Medes. Thus the Caliphs of Egypt, till deposed by their Mamalukes. Thus passed the latter parts of those great lives of Scipio, Lucullus, Augustus, Dioclesian. Thus turned the great thoughts of Henry II. of France, after the end of his wars with Spain. Thus the present King of Morocco, after having subdued all his competitors, passes his life in a country villa, gives audience in a grove of orange-trees planted among purling streams. And thus the King of France, after all the successes of his councils or arms, and in the mighty elevation of his present greatness and power, when he gives himself leisure from such designs or pursuits, passes the softer and easier parts of his time in country houses and gardens, in building, planting, or adorning the scenes, or in the com-

mon sports and entertainments of such kind of lives. And those mighty Emperors, who contented not themselves with these pleasures of common humanity, fell into the frantic or the extravagant; they pretended to be Gods or turned to be Devils, as Caligula and Nero, and too many others known enough in story.

Whilst mankind is thus generally busied or amused, that part of them, who have had either the justice or the luck to pass in common opinion for the wisest and the best part among them, have followed another and very different scent; and instead of the common designs of satisfying their appetites and their passions, and making endless provisions for both, they have chosen what they thought a nearer and a surer way to the ease and felicity of life, by endeavouring to subdue, or at least to temper their passions, and reduce their appetites to what nature seems only to ask and to need. And this design seems to have brought philosophy into the world, at least that which is termed moral, and appears to have an end not only desirable by every man, which is the ease and happiness of life, but also in some degree suitable to the force and reach of human nature: for, as to that part of philosophy which is called natural, I know no end it can have, but that of either busying a man's brains to no purpose, or satisfying the vanity so natural to most men of distinguishing themselves, by some way or other, from those that seem their equals in birth and the common advantages of it; and whether this distinction be made by wealth or power, or appearance of knowledge, which gains esteem and applause in the world, is all a case. More than this I know no advantage mankind has gained by the progress of natural philosophy, during so many ages it has had vogue in the world, excepting always, and very justly, what we owe to the mathematics, which is

in a manner all that seems valuable among the civilized nations, more than those we call barbarous, whether they are so or no, or more so than ourselves.

How ancient this natural philosophy has been in the world is hard to know; for we find frequent mention of ancient philosophers in this kind, among the most ancient now extant with us. The first who found out the vanity of it seems to have been Solomon, of which discovery he has left such admirable strains in Ecclesiastes. The next was Socrates, who made it the business of his life to explode it, and introduce that which we call moral in its place, to busy human minds to better purpose. And indeed, whoever reads with thought what these two, and Marcus Antoninus, have said upon the vanity of all that mortal man can ever attain to know of nature, in its originals or operations, may save himself a great deal of pains, and justly conclude, that the knowledge of such things is not our game; and (like the pursuit of a stag by a little spaniel) may serve to amuse and to weary us, but will never be hunted down. Yet I think those three I have named may justly pass for the wisest triumvirate that are left us upon the records of story or of time.

After Socrates, who left nothing in writing, many sects of philosophers began to spread in Greece, who entered boldly upon both parts of natural and moral philosophy. The first with the greatest disagreement, and the most eager contention that could be upon the greatest subjects: as, whether the world were eternal, or produced at some certain time? whether, if produced, it was by some eternal Mind, and to some end, or by the fortuitous concourse of atoms, or some particles of eternal matter? whether there was one world, or many? whether the soul of man was a part of some ethe-

rial and eternal substance, or was corporeal? whether, if eternal, it was so before it came into the body, or only after it went out? There were the same contentions about the motions of the heavens, the magnitude of the celestial bodies, the faculties of the mind, and the judgment of the senses. But all the different schemes of nature that have been drawn of old, or of late, by Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, Des Cartes, Hobbs, or any other that I know of, seem to agree but in one thing, which is, the want of demonstration or satisfaction to any thinking and unpossessed man; and seem more or less probable one than another, according to the wit and eloquence of the authors and advocates that raise or defend them; like jugglers tricks, that have more or less appearance of being real, according to the dexterousness and skill of him that plays them; whereas perhaps, if we were capable of knowing truth and nature, these fine schemes would prove like rover shots, some nearer and some further off, but all at great distance from the mark; it may be, none in sight.

Yet, in the midst of these and many other such disputes and contentions in their natural philosophy, they seemed to agree much better in their moral; and, upon their inquiries after the ultimate end of man, which was his happiness, their contentions or differences seemed to be rather in words, than in the sense of their opinions, or in the true meaning of their several authors or masters of their sects: all concluded that happiness was the chief good, and ought to be the ultimate end of man; that, as this was the end of wisdom, so wisdom was the way to happiness. The question then was, in what this happiness consisted? The contention grew warmest between the Stoics and Epicureans; the other sects, in this point, siding in a manner with one or the other of these in their conceptions

or expressions. The Stoics would have it to consist in virtue, and the Epicureans in pleasure; yet the most reasonable of the Stoics made the pleasure of virtue to be the greatest happiness, and the best of the Epicureans made the greatest pleasure to consist in virtue; and the difference between these two seems not easily discovered. All agreed, the greatest temper, if not the total subduing of passion, and exercise of reason, to be the state of the greatest felicity; to live without desires or fears, or those perturbations of mind and thought which passions raise; to place true riches in wanting little, rather than in possessing much; and true pleasure in temperance, rather than in satisfying the senses; to live with indifference to the common enjoyments and accidents of life, and with constancy upon the greatest blows of fate or of chance; not to disturb our minds with sad reflexions upon what is past, nor with anxious cares or raving hopes about what is to come; neither to disquiet life with the fears of death, nor death with the desires of life; but in both, and in all things else, to follow nature,—seem to be the precepts most agreed among them.

Thus reason seems only to have been called in to allay those disorders which itself had raised, to cure its own wounds, and pretends to make us wise no other way than by rendering us insensible. This at least was the profession of many rigid Stoics, who would have had a wise man, not only without any sort of passion, but without any sense of pain as well as pleasure; and to enjoy himself in the midst of diseases and torments, as well as of health and ease: a principle, in my mind, against common nature and common sense; and which might have told us in fewer words, or with less circumstance, that a man, to be wise, should not be a man;

and this perhaps might have been easy enough to believe, but nothing so hard as the other.

The Epicureans were more intelligible in their notion, and fortunate in their expression, when they placed a man's happiness in the tranquillity of mind and indolence of body; for while we are composed of both, I doubt both must have a share in the good or ill we feel. As men of several languages say the same things in very different words; so in several ages, countries, constitutions of laws and religion, the same thing seems to be meant by very different expressions: what is called by the Stoics apathy, or dispassion; by the Sceptics indisturbance; by the Molinists quietism; by common men peace of conscience; seems all to mean but great tranquillity of mind, though it be made to proceed from so diverse causes, as human wisdom, innocence of life, or resignation to the will of God. An old usurer had the same notion, when he said, No man could have peace of conscience, that run out of his estate; not comprehending what else was meant by that phrase, besides true quiet and content of mind; which, however expressed, is, I suppose, meant by all to be the best account that can be given of the happiness of man, since no man can pretend to be happy without it.

I have often wondered how such sharp and violent invectives came to be made so generally against Epicurus by the ages that followed him, whose admirable wit, felicity of expression, excellence of nature, sweetness of conversation, temperance of life, and constancy of death, made him so beloved by his friends, admired by his scholars, and honoured by the Athenians. But this injustice may be fastened chiefly upon the envy and malignity of the Stoics at first, then upon the mistakes of some gross pretenders to his sect (who took pleasure only

to be sensual) and afterwards, upon the piety of the primitive Christians, who esteemed his principles of natural philosophy more opposite to those of our religion, than either the Platonists, the Peripatetics, or Stoics themselves: yet, I confess, I do not know why the account given by Lucretius of the Gods, should be thought more impious than that given by Homer, who makes them not only subject to all the weakest passions, but perpetually busy in all the worst or meanest actions of men.

But Epicurus has found so great advocates of his virtue, as well as learning and inventions, that there need no more; and the testimonies of Diogenes Laertius alone seem too sincere and impartial to be disputed, or to want the assistance of modern authors: if all failed, he would be but too well defended by the excellence of so many of his sect in all ages, and especially of those who lived in the compass of one, but the greatest in story, both as to persons and events: I need name no more than Cæsar, Atticus, Mæcenas, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace; all admirable in their several kinds, and perhaps unparalleled in story.

Cæsar, if considered in all lights, may justly challenge the first place in the registers we have of mankind, equal only to himself, and surpassing all others of his nation and his age, in the virtues and excellencies of a statesman, a captain, an orator, an historian; besides all these, a poet, a philosopher, when his leisure allowed him; the greatest man of counsel and of action, of design and execution; the greatest nobleness of birth, of person, and of countenance; the greatest humanity and clemency of nature, in the midst of the greatest provocations, occasions, and examples of cruelty and revenge: it is true, he overturned the laws and constitutions of his country, yet it was after so many others had not only begun, but proceeded very far,

to change and violate them; so as, in what he did, he seems rather to have prevented others, than to have done what himself designed; for though his ambition was vast, yet it seems to have been raised to those heights, rather by the insolence of his enemies than by his own temper; and that what was natural to him was only a desire of true glory, and to acquire it by good actions as well as great, by conquests of barbarous nations, extent of the Roman empire; defending at first the liberties of the Plebeians, opposing the faction that had begun in Sylla and ended in Pompey; and, in the whole course of his victories and successes, seeking all occasions of bounty to his friends, and clemency to his enemies.

Atticus appears to have been one of the wisest and best of the Romans; learned without pretending, good without affectation, bountiful without design, a friend to all men in misfortune, a flatterer to no man in greatness or power, a lover of mankind, and beloved by them all; and by these virtues and dispositions, he passed safe and untouched through all the flames of civil dissensions that ravaged his country the greatest part of his life; and, though he never entered into any public affairs or particular factions of his state, yet he was favoured, honoured, and courted by them all, from Sylla to Augustus.

Mæcenas was the wisest counsellor, the truest friend both of his Prince and his country, the best Governor of Rome, the happiest and ablest negotiator, the best judge of learning and virtue, the choicest in his friends, and thereby the happiest in his conversation that has been known in story; and I think, to his conduct in civil, and Agrippa's in military affairs, may be truly ascribed all the fortunes and greatness of Augustus, so much celebrated in the world.

For Lucretius, Virgil, and Horace, they deserve, in my opinion, the honour of the greatest philosophers, as well as the best poets of their nation or age. The two first, besides what looks like something more than human in their poetry, were very great naturalists, and admirable in their morals: and Horace, besides the sweetness and elegancy of his Lyrics, appears, in the rest of his writings, so great a master of life, and of true sense in the conduct of it, that I know none beyond him. It was no mean strain of his philosophy, to refuse being Secretary to Augustus, when so great an emperor so much desired it. But all the different sects of philosophers seem to have agreed in the opinion of a wise man's abstaining from public affairs, which is thought the meaning of Pythagoras's precept, to abstain from beans, by which the affairs or public resolutions in Athens were managed. They thought that sort of business too gross and material for the abstracted fineness of their speculations. They esteemed it too sordid and too artificial for the cleanness and simplicity of their manners and lives. They would have no part in the faults of a government; and they knew too well, that the nature and passions of men made them incapable of any that was perfect and good; and therefore thought all the service they could do to the state they lived under, was to mend the lives and manners of particular men that composed it. But where factions were once entered and rooted in a state, they thought it madness for good men to meddle with public affairs; which made them turn their thoughts and entertainments to any thing rather than this; and Heraclitus, having, upon the factions of the citizens, quitted the government of his city, and amusing himself to play with the boys in the porch of the temple, asked those who wondered at him, Whether it was not better to play with such boys,

than govern such men? But above all, they esteemed public business the most contrary of all others to that tranquillity of mind, which they esteemed and taught to be the only true felicity of man.

For this reason Epicurus passed his life wholly in his garden: there he studied, there he exercised, there he taught his philosophy; and, indeed, no other sort of abode seems to contribute so much to both the tranquillity of mind and indolence of body, which he made his chief ends. The sweetness of air, the pleasantness of smell, the verdure of plants, the cleanness and lightness of food, the exercises of working or walking; but above all, the exemption from cares and solicitude, seem equally to favour and improve both contemplation and health, the enjoyment of sense and imagination, and thereby the quiet and ease both of the body and mind.

Though Epicurus be said to have been the first that had a garden in Athens, whose citizens before him had theirs in their villas or farms without the city; yet the use of gardens seems to have been the most ancient and most general of any sorts of possession among mankind, and to have preceded those of corn or of cattle, as yielding the easier, the pleasanter, and more natural food. As it has been the inclination of Kings and the choice of philosophers, so it has been the common favourite of public and private men; a pleasure of the greatest, and the care of the meanest; and indeed an employment and a possession, for which no man is too high nor too low.

If we believe the Scripture, we must allow that God Almighty esteemed the life of a man in a garden the happiest he could give him, or else he would not have placed Adam in that of Eden; that it was the state of innocence and pleasure; and that the life of husbandry and cities came after the fall, with guilt and with labour.

Where paradise was, has been much debated, and little agreed; but what sort of place is meant by it may perhaps easier be conjectured. It seems to have been a Persian word, since Xenophon and other Greek authors mention it, as what was much in use and delight among the Kings of those eastern countries. Strabo, describing Jericho, says, "Ibi est palmetum, cui immixtæ sunt etiam aliæ stirpes hortenses, locus ferax, palmis abundans, spatio stadiorum centum, totus irriguus, ibi est Regi et Balsami paradisus." He mentions another place to be "prope Libanum et Paradisum." And Alexander is written to have seen Cyrus's tomb in paradise, being a tower not very great, and covered with a shade of trees about it. So that a paradise among them seems to have been a large space of ground, adorned and beautified with all sorts of trees, both of fruits and of forest, either found there before it was inclosed, or planted after; either cultivated like gardens, for shades and for walks, with fountains or streams, and all sorts of plants usual in the climate, and pleasant to the eye, the smell, or the taste; or else employed like our parks, for inclosure and harbour of all sorts of wild beasts, as well as for the pleasure of riding and walking: and so they were of more or less extent, and of different entertainment, according to the several humours of the Princes that ordered and inclosed them.

Semiramis is the first we are told of in story, that brought them in use through her empire, and was so fond of them, as to make one where-ever she built, and in all, or most of the provinces she subdued; which are said to have been from Babylon as far as India. The Assyrian Kings continued this custom and care, or rather this pleasure, till one of them brought in the use of smaller and more regular gardens: for having married a wife he was fond of, out of one of the provinces, where such

paradises or gardens were much in use, and the country lady not well bearing the air or inclosure of the palace in Babylon, to which the Assyrian Kings used to confine themselves, he made her gardens, not only within the palaces, but upon terrasses raised with earth, over the arched roofs, and even upon the top of the highest tower, planted them with all sorts of fruit-trees, as well as other plants and flowers, the most pleasant of that country; and thereby made at least the most airy gardens, as well as the most costly, that have been heard of in the world. This lady may probably have been native of the provinces of Chasimer or of Damascus, which have in all times been the happiest regions for fruits of all the East, by the excellence of soil, the position of mountains, the frequency of streams, rather than the advantages of climate. And it is great pity we do not yet see the history of Chasimer, which Monsieur Bernier assured me he had translated out of Persian, and intended to publish; and of which he has given such a taste, in his excellent Memoirs of the Mogul's country.

The next gardens we read of are those of Solomon, planted with all sorts of fruit-trees, and watered with fountains; and though we have no more particular description of them, yet we may find, they were the places where he passed the times of his leisure and delight, where the houses as well as grounds were adorned with all that could be of pleasing and elegant, and were the retreats and entertainments of those among his wives that he loved the best; and it is not improbable, that the paradises mentioned by Strabo were planted by this great and wisest King. But the idea of the garden must be very great, if it answer at all to that of the gardener, who must have employed a great deal of his care and of his study, as well as of his leisure

and thought, in these entertainments, since he writ of all plants, from the cedar to the shrub.

What the gardens of the Hesperides were, we have little or no account, further than the mention of them, and thereby the testimony of their having been in use and request in such remoteness of place and antiquity of time.

The garden of Alcinous, described by Homer, seems wholly poetical, and made at the pleasure of the painter; like the rest of the romantic palace in that little barren island of Phæacia or Corfu. Yet, as all the pieces of this transcendent genius are composed with excellent knowledge, as well as fancy; so they seldom fail of instruction as well as delight, to all that read him. The seat of this garden, joining to the gates of the palace, the compass of the inclosure being four acres, the tall trees of shade, as well as those of fruit, the two fountains, the one for the use of the garden, and the other of the palace, the continual succession of fruits throughout the whole year, are, for aught I know, the best rules or provision that can go towards composing the best gardens; nor is it unlikely, that Homer may have drawn this picture after the life of some he had seen in Ionia, the country and usual abode of this divine poet; and indeed, the region of the most refined pleasure and luxury, as well as invention and wit: for the humour and custom of gardens may have descended earlier into the Lower Asia, from Damascus, Assyria, and other parts of the eastern empires, though they seem to have made late entrance and smaller improvement in those of Greece and Rome; at least in no proportion to their other inventions or refinements of pleasure and luxury.

The long and flourishing peace of the two first empires gave earlier rise and growth to learning and civility, and all the consequences of them, in

magnificence and elegancy of building and gardening; whereas Greece and Rome were almost perpetually engaged in quarrels and wars either abroad or at home, and so were busy in actions that were done under the sun, rather than those under the shade. These were the entertainments of the softer nations, that fell under the virtue and prowess of the two last empires, which from those conquests brought home mighty increases both of riches and luxury, and so perhaps lost more than they got by the spoils of the East.

There may be another reason for the small advance of gardening in those excellent and more temperate climates, where the air and soil were so apt of themselves to produce the best sorts of fruits, without the necessity of cultivating them by labour and care; whereas the hotter climates, as well as the cold, are forced upon industry and skill, to produce or improve many fruits that grow of themselves in the more temperate regions. However it were, we have very little mention of gardens in old Greece or in old Rome, for pleasure or with elegance, nor of much curiousness or care, to introduce the fruits of foreign climates, contenting themselves with those which were native of their own; and these were the vine, the olive, the fig, the pear, and the apple: Cato, as I remember, mentions no more; and their gardens were then but the necessary part of their farms, intended particularly for the cheap and easy food of their hinds or slaves employed in their agriculture, and so were turned chiefly to all the common sorts of plants, herbs, or legumes (as the French call them) proper for common nourishment; and the name of *hortus* is taken to be from *ortus*, because it perpetually furnishes some rise or production of something new in the world.

Lucullus, after the Mithridatic war, first brought

cherries from Pontus into Italy, which so generally pleased, and were so easily propagated in all climates, that within the space of about an hundred years, having travelled westward with the Roman conquests, they grew common as far as the Rhine, and passed over into Britain. After the conquest of Afric, Greece, the Lesser Asia, and Syria, were brought into Italy all the sorts of their *mala*, which we interpret apples, and might signify no more at first, but were afterwards applied to many other foreign fruits: the apricots, coming from Epire, were called *mala Epirotica*; peaches from Persia, *mala Persica*; citrons of Media, *Medica*; pomegranates from Carthage, *Punica*; quinces, *Cathonea*, from a small island in the Grecian seas; their best pears were brought from Alexandria, Numidia, Greece, and Numantia; as appears by their several appellations: their plums, from Armenia, Syria, but chiefly from Damascus. The kinds of these are reckoned, in Nero's time, to have been near thirty, as well as of figs; and many of them were entertained at Rome with so great applause, and so general vogue, that the great Captains, and even consular men, who first brought them over, took pride in giving them their own names, (by which they run a great while in Rome) as in memory of some great service or pleasure they had done their country; so that not only laws and battles, but several sorts of apples or *mala*, and of pears, were called Manlian and Claudian, Pompeian and Tiberian, and by several other such noble names.

Thus the fruits of Rome, in about an hundred years, came from countries as far as their conquests had reached; and, like learning, architecture, painting, and statuary, made their great advances in Italy about the Augustan age. What was of most request in their common gardens in Virgil's time, or at least in his youth, may be conjectured by the

description of his old Corycian's gardens in the fourth of the Georgics; which begins,

Namque sub Œbaliæ memini turribus altis.

Among flowers, the roses had the first place, especially a kind which bore twice a-year; and none other sorts are here mentioned besides the Narcissus, though the violet and the lily were very common, and the next in esteem; especially the *breve lilium*, which was the tuberose. The plants he mentions are the *apium*, which though commonly interpreted parsly, yet comprehends all sorts of smallage, whereof sellery is one; *cucumis*, which takes in all sorts of melons, as well as cucumbers; *olus*, which is a common word for all sorts of pot-herbs and legumes; verbenas, which signifies all kinds of sweet or sacred plants that were used for adorning the altars; as bays, olive, rosemary, myrtle: the acanthus seems to be what we called pericanthe; but what their *hederæ* were, that deserved place in a garden, I cannot guess, unless they had sorts of ivy unknown to us; nor what his *vescum papaver* was, since poppies with us are of no use in eating. The fruits mentioned are only apples, pears, and plums; for olives, vines, and figs, were grown to be fruits of their fields, rather than of their gardens. The shades were the elm, the pine, the lime-tree, and the platanus, or plane-tree: whose leaf and shade, of all others, was the most in request; and, having been brought out of Persia, was such an inclination among the Greeks and Romans, that they usually fed it with wine instead of water; they believed this tree loved that liquor, as well as those that used to drink under its shade; which was a great humour and custom, and perhaps gave rise to the other, by observing the growth of the tree, or largeness of the leaves,

where much wine was spilt or left, and thrown upon the roots.

It is great pity the haste which Virgil seems here to have been in, should have hindered him from entering farther into the account or instructions of gardening, which he said he could have given, and which he seems to have so much esteemed and loved, by that admirable picture of this old man's felicity, which he draws like so great a master, with one stroke of a pencil in those four words:

Regum æquabat opes animis.

That in the midst of these small possessions, upon a few acres of barren ground, yet he equalled all the wealth and opulence of Kings, in the ease, content, and freedom of his mind.

I am not satisfied with the common acceptation of the *mala aurea* for oranges; nor do I find any passage in the authors of that age, which gives me the opinion, that these were otherwise known to the Romans than as fruits of the eastern climates. I should take their *mala aurea* to be rather some kind of apples, so called from the golden colour, as some are amongst us; for otherwise, the orange-tree is too noble in the beauty, taste, and smell of its fruit; in the perfume and virtue of its flowers; in the perpetual verdure of its leaves, and in the excellent uses of all these, both for pleasure and health; not to have deserved any particular mention in the writings of an age and nation so refined and exquisite in all sorts of delicious luxury.

The charming description Virgil makes of the happy apple, must be intended either for the citron, or for some sort of orange growing in Media, which was either so proper to that country as not to grow in any other, (as a certain sort of fig was to Damascus) or to have lost its virtue by changing soils, or to have had its effect of curing some

sort of poison that was usual in that country, but particular to it: I cannot forbear inserting those few lines out of the second of Virgil's Georgics, not having ever heard any body else take notice of them.

Media fert tristes succos, tardumque saporem
Felicis mali; quo non præsentius ullum,
Pocula si quandò sævæ infecere novercæ,
Auxilium venit, ac membris agit atra venena;
Ipsa ingens arbos, faciemque simillima lauro;
Et, si non alios late jactaret odores,
Laurus erit: folia haud ullis labentia ventis;
Flos apprima tenax: animas et olentia Medi
Ora fovent illo, ac senibus medicantur anhelis.

Media brings pois'nous herbs, and the flat taste
Of the bless'd apple, than which ne'er was found
A help more present, when curs'd step-dames mix
Their mortal cups, to drive the venom out:
'Tis a large tree, and like a bays in hue;
And, did it not such odours cast about,
'Twould be a bays; the leaves with no winds fall,
The flowers all excel: with these the Medes
Perfume their breaths, and cure old pursy men.

The tree being so like a bays or laurel, the slow or dull taste of the apple, the virtue of it against poison, seem to describe the citron: the perfume of the flowers and virtues of them, to cure ill scents of mouth or breath, or shortness of wind in pursy old men, seem to agree most with the orange: if *flos apprima tenax* mean only the excellence of the flower above all others, it may be intended for the orange: if it signifies the flowers growing most upon the tops of the trees, it may be rather the citron; for I have been so curious as to bring up a citron from a kernel, which at twelve years of age began to flower; and I observed all the flowers to grow upon the top branches of the tree, but to be nothing so high or sweet-scented as the orange. On the other side, I have always heard oranges to

pass for a cordial juice, and a great preservative against the plague, which is a sort of venom; so that I know not to which of these we are to ascribe this lovely picture of the happy apple; but I am satisfied by it, that neither of them was at all common, if at all known in Italy, at that time, or long after, though the fruit be now so frequent there in fields (at least in some parts) and make so common and delicious a part of gardening, even in these northern climates.

It is certain those noble fruits, the citron, the orange, and the lemon, are the native product of those noble regions, Assyria, Media, and Persia; and, though they have been from thence transplanted and propagated in many parts of Europe, yet they have not arrived at such perfection in beauty, taste, or virtue, as in their native soil and climate. This made it generally observed among the Greeks and Romans, that the fruits of the East far excelled those of the West. And several writers have trifled away their time in deducing the reasons of this difference, from the more benign or powerful influence of the rising sun. But there is nothing more evident to any man that has the least knowledge of the globe, and gives himself leave to think, than the folly of such wise reasons, since the regions, that are East to us, are West to some others; and the sun rises alike to all that lie in the same latitude, with the same heat and virtue upon its first approaches, as well as in its progress. Besides, if the eastern fruits were the better only for that position of climate, then those of India should excel those of Persia; which we do not find by comparing the accounts of those countries: but Assyria, Media, and Persia, have been ever esteemed, and will be ever found, the true regions of the best and noblest fruits in the world. The reason of it can be no other, than that of an excellent and

proper soil, being there extended under the best climate for the production of all sorts of the best fruits; which seems to be from about twenty-five, to about thirty-five degrees of latitude. Now the regions under this climate in the present Persian empire (which comprehends most of the other two, called anciently Assyria and Media) are composed of many Provinces full of great and fertile plains, bounded by high mountains, especially to the north; watered naturally with many rivers, and those, by art and labour, derived into many more and smaller streams, which all conspire to form a country, in all circumstances, the most proper and agreeable for production of the best and noblest fruits. Whereas if we survey the regions of the western world, lying in the same latitude between twenty-five and thirty-five degrees, we shall find them extend either over the Mediterranean sea, the ocean, or the sandy barren countries of Africa; and that no part of the continent of Europe lies so southward as thirty-five degrees. Which may serve to discover the true genuine reason, why the fruits of the East have been always observed and agreed to transcend those of the West.

In our north-west climates, our gardens are very different from what they were in Greece and Italy, and from what they are now in those regions in Spain or the southern parts of France. And as most general customs in countries grow from the different nature of climate, soils, or situations, and from the necessities or industry they impose, so do these.

In the warmer regions, fruits and flowers of the best sorts are so common and of so easy production, that they grow in fields, and are not worth the cost of inclosing, or the care of more than ordinary cultivating. On the other side, the great pleasures of those climates are coolness of air, and whatever

looks cool even to the eyes, and relieves them from the unpleasant sight of dusty streets, or parched fields. This makes the gardens of those countries to be chiefly valued by largeness of extent (which gives greater play and openness of air) by shades of trees, by frequency of living streams or fountains, by perspectives, by statues, and by pillars and obelisks of stone scattered up and down, which all conspire to make any place look fresh and cool. On the contrary, the more northern climates, as they suffer little by heat, make little provision against it, and are careless of shade, and seldom curious in fountains. Good statues are in the reach of few men, and common ones are generally and justly despised or neglected. But no sorts of good fruits or flowers, being natives of the climates, or usual among us (nor indeed the best sort of plants, herbs, sallads for our kitchen gardens themselves) and the best fruits, not ripening without the advantage of walls and palisadoes, by reflexion of the faint heat we receive from the sun, our gardens are made of smaller compass, seldom exceeding four, six, or eight acres; inclosed with walls, and laid out in a manner wholly for advantage of fruits, flowers, and the product of kitchen gardens in all sorts of herbs, sallads, plants, and legumes, for the common use of tables.

These are usually the gardens of England and Holland, as the first sort are those of Italy, and were so of old. In the more temperate parts of France, and in Brabant (where I take gardening to be at its greatest height), they are composed of both sorts, the extent more spacious than ours; part laid out for flowers, others for fruits; some standards, some against walls or palisadoes, some for forest trees, and groves for shade, some parts wild, some exact; and fountains much in request among them.

But after so much ramble into ancient times, and

remote places, to return home and consider the present way and humour of our gardening in England; which seem to have grown into such vogue, and to have been so mightily improved in three or four and twenty years of his Majesty's reign, that perhaps few countries are before us, either in the elegance of our gardens, or in the number of our plants; and, I believe, none equal us in the variety of fruits which may be justly called good; and from the earliest cherry and strawberry, to the last apples and pears, may furnish every day of the circling year. For the taste and perfection of what we esteem the best, I may truly say, that the French, who have eaten my peaches and grapes at Sheen, in no very ill year, have generally concluded, that the last are as good as any they have eaten in France, on this side Fontainebleau; and the first as good as any they have eat in Gascony; I mean those which come from the stone, and are properly called peaches, not those which are hard, and are termed pavies; for these cannot grow in too warm a climate, nor ever be good in a cold; and are better at Madrid, than in Gascony itself. Italians have agreed, my white figs to be as good as any of that sort in Italy, which is the earlier kind of white fig there; for in the latter kind, and the blue, we cannot come near the warm climates, no more than in the Fontignac or Muscat grape.

My orange-trees are as large as any I saw when I was young in France, except those of Fontainebleau, or what I have seen since in the Low-Countries, except some very old ones of the Prince of Orange's; as laden with flowers as any can well be, as full of fruit as I suffer or desire them, and as well tasted as are commonly brought over, except the best sorts of Seville and Portugal. And thus much I could not but say in defence of our climate, which is so much and so generally decried abroad, by those

who never saw it; or, if they have been here, have yet perhaps seen no more of it, than what belongs to inns, or to taverns and ordinaries; who accuse our country for their own defaults, and speak ill, not only of our gardens and houses, but of our humours, our breeding, our customs and manners of life, by what they have observed of the meaner and baser sort of mankind; and of company among us, because they wanted themselves, perhaps, either fortune or birth, either quality or merit, to introduce them among the good.

I must needs add one thing more in favour of our climate, which I heard the King say, and I thought new and right, and truly like a King of England, that loved and esteemed his own country: it was in reply to some of the company that were reviling our climate, and extolling those of Italy and Spain, or at least of France: he said, he thought that was the best climate, where he could be abroad in the air with pleasure, or at least without trouble or inconvenience, the most days of the year, and the most hours of the day; and this, he thought, he could be in England, more than in any country he knew of in Europe. And I believe it is true, not only of the hot and the cold, but even among our neighbours in France, and the Low-Countries themselves; where the heats or the colds, and changes of seasons, are less treatable than they are with us.

The truth is, our climate wants no heat to produce excellent fruits; and the default of it is only the short season of our heats or summers, by which many of the latter are left behind, and imperfect with us. But all such as are ripe before the end of August, are, for aught I know, as good with us as any where else. This makes me esteem the true region of gardens in England, to be the compass of ten miles about London; where the accidental

warmth of air, from the fires and steams of so vast a town, makes fruits, as well as corn, a great deal forwarder than in Hampshire or Wiltshire, though more southward by a full degree.

There are, besides the temper of our climate, two things particular to us, that contribute much to the beauty and elegance of our gardens, which are the gravel of our walks, and the fineness and almost perpetual greenness of our turf. The first is not known any where else, which leaves all their dry walks, in other countries, very unpleasant and uneasy. The other cannot be found in France or in Holland as we have it, the soil not admitting that fineness of blade in Holland, nor the sun that greenness in France, during most of the summer; nor indeed is it to be found but in the finest of our soils.

Whoever begins a garden, ought in the first place and above all to consider the soil, upon which the taste of not only his fruits, but his legumes, and even herbs and sallads, will wholly depend; and the default of soil is without remedy: for, although all borders of fruit may be made with what earth you please (if you will be at the charge), yet it must be renewed in two or three years, or it runs into the nature of the ground where it is brought. Old trees spread their roots further than any body's care extends, or the forms of the garden will allow; and, after all, where the soil about you is ill, the air is so too in a degree, and has influence upon the taste of fruit. What Horace says of the productions of kitchen-gardens, under the name of *caulis*, is true of all the best sorts of fruits, and may determine the choice of soil for all gardens.

> Caule suburbano, qui siccis crevit in agris,
> Dulcior; irriguis nihil est elutius hortis.
>
> Plants from dry fields those of the town excel;
> Nothing more tasteless is than watered grounds.

Any man had better throw away his care and his money upon any thing else, than upon a garden in wet or moist ground. Peaches and grapes will have no taste but upon a sand or gravel; but the richer these are, the better; and neither sallads, pease, or beans, have at all the taste upon a clay or rich earth, as they have upon either of the others, though the size and colour of fruits and plants may, perhaps, be more upon the worse soils.

Next to your choice of soil, is to suit your plants to your ground, since of this every one is not master; though perhaps Varro's judgment, upon this case, is the wisest and the best; for to one that asked him, what he should do if his father or ancestors had left him a seat in an ill air, or upon an ill soil? he answered, Why sell it, and buy another in good. But what if I cannot get half the worth? Why, then take a quarter; but however sell it for any thing, rather than live upon it.

Of all sorts of soil, the best is that upon a sandy gravel, or a rosiny sand; whoever lies upon either of these may run boldly into all the best sort of peaches and grapes, how shallow soever the turf be upon them; and whatever other tree will thrive in these soils, the fruits shall be of a much finer taste than any other: a richer soil will do well enough for apricots, plums, pears, or figs; but still the more of the sand in your earth the better, and the worse the more of the clay, which is proper for oaks, and no other tree that I know of.

Fruits should be suited to the climate among us, as well as the soil; for there are degrees of one and the other in England, where it is to little purpose to plant any of the best fruits, as peaches or grapes, hardly I doubt beyond Northamptonshire, at the furthest northwards; and I thought it very prudent in a Gentleman of my friends in Staffordshire, who is a great lover of his garden, to pretend no

higher, though his soil be good enough, than to the perfection of plums; and in these (by bestowing south walls upon them) he has very well succeeded, which he could never have done in attempts upon peaches and grapes; and a good plum is certainly better than an ill peach.

When I was at Cosevelt, with that Bishop of Munster that made so much noise in his time, I observed no other trees but cherries in a great garden he had made. He told me the reason was, because he found no other fruit would ripen well in that climate, or upon that soil; and therefore, instead of being curious in others, he had only been so in the sorts of that, whereof he had so many, as never to be without them from May to the end of September.

As to the size of a garden, which will perhaps, in time, grow extravagant among us, I think from four or five to seven or eight acres is as much as any Gentleman need design, and will furnish as much of all that is expected from it, as any Nobleman will have occasion to use in his family.

In every garden, four things are necessary to be provided for, flowers, fruit, shade, and water; and whoever lays out a garden, without all these, must not pretend it in any perfection: it ought to lie to the best parts of the house, or to those of the master's commonest use, so as to be but like one of the rooms out of which you step into another. The part of your garden next your house (besides the walks that go round it) should be a parterre for flowers, or grass-plots bordered with flowers; or if, according to the newest mode, it be cast all into grass-plots and gravel walks, the dryness of these should be relieved with fountains, and the plainness of those with statues; otherwise, if large, they have an ill effect upon the eye. However, the part next the house should be open, and no other fruit but

upon the walls. If this take up one half of the garden, the other should be fruit-trees, unless some grove for shade lie in the middle. If it take up a third part only, then the next third may be dwarf-trees, and the last standard-fruit; or else, the second part fruit-trees, and the third all sorts of winter-greens, which provide for all seasons of the year.

I will not enter upon any account of flowers, having only pleased myself with seeing or smelling them, and not troubled myself with the care, which is more the ladies' part than the men's; but the success is wholly in the gardener. For fruits, the best we have in England, or, I believe, can ever hope for, are, of peaches, the white and red maudlin, the minion, the chevereuse, the ramboullet, the musk, the admirable, which is late; all the rest are either varied by names, or not to be named with these, nor worth troubling a garden, in my opinion. Of the pavies or hard peaches, I know none good here but the Newington, nor will that easily hang till it is full ripe. The forward peaches are to be esteemed only because they are early, but should find room in a good garden, at least the white and brown nutmeg, the Persian, and the violet musk. The only good nectarins, are the murry and the French; of these there are two sorts, one very round, and the other something long, but the round is the best: of the murry there are several sorts, but, being all hard, they are seldom well ripened with us.

Of grapes, the best are the chasselas, which is the better sort of our white muscadine (as the usual name was about Sheen); it is called the pearl-grape, and ripens well enough in common years, but not so well as the common black, or currand, which is something a worse grape. The parsley is good, and proper enough to our climate; but all white fron-

tiniacs are difficult, and seldom ripe, unless in extraordinary summers.

I have had the honour of bringing over four sorts into England; the arboyse, from the Franche Compté, which is a small white grape, or rather runs into some small and some great upon the same bunch; it agrees well with our climate, but is very choice in soil, and must have a sharp gravel; it is the most delicious of all grapes that are not muscat. The Burgundy, which is a grizelin or pale red, and of all others is surest to ripen in our climate, so that I have never known them to fail one summer these fifteen years, when all others have; and have had it very good upon an east wall. A black muscat, which is called the dowager, and ripens as well as the common white grape. And the fourth is the grizelin frontignac, being of that colour, and the highest of that taste, and the noblest of all grapes I ever ate in England; but requires the hottest wall and the sharpest gravel; and must be favoured by the summer too, to be very good. All these are, I suppose, by this time, pretty common among some gardeners in my neighbourhood, as well as several persons of quality; for I have ever thought all things of this kind, the commoner they are made, the better.

Of figs there are among us the white, the blue, and the tawny: the last is very small, bears ill, and I think but a bawble. Of the blue there are two or three sorts, but little different, one something longer than the other; but that kind which smells most is ever the best. Of the white I know but two sorts, and both excellent, one ripe in the beginning of July, the other in the end of September, and is yellower than the first; but this is hard to be found among us, and difficult to raise, though an excellent fruit.

Of apricots, the best are the common old sort,

and the largest masculin; of which this last is much improved by budding upon a peach stock. I esteem none of this fruit but the Brussels apricot, which grows a standard, and is one of the best fruits we have; and which I first brought over among us.

The number of good pears, especially summer, is very great, but the best are the blanquet, robin, rousselet, rosati, sans, pepin, jargonel. Of the autumn, the buree, the vertelongue, and the bergamot. Of the winter, the vergoluz, chasseray, St. Michael, St. Germain, and ambret. I esteem the bon-cretien with us good for nothing but to bake.

Of plums, the best are St. Julian, St. Catherine, white and blue pedrigon, queen-mother, Sheen plum, and cheston.

Beyond the sorts I have named, none I think need trouble himself, but multiply these rather than make room for more kinds; and I am content to leave this register, having been so often desired it by my friends, upon their designs of gardening.

I need say nothing of apples, being so well known among us; but the best of our climate, and I believe of all others, is the golden pippin; and for all sorts of uses: the next is the Kentish pippin; but these I think are as far from their perfection with us as grapes, and yield to those of Normandy, as these to those in Anjou, and even these to those in Gascony. In other fruits the defect of sun is in a great measure supplied by the advantage of walls.

The next care to that of suiting trees with the soil, is that of suiting fruits to the position of walls: grapes, peaches, and winter-pears, to be good, must be planted upon full south, or south-east; figs are best upon south-east, but will do well upon east and south-west: the west are proper for cherries, plums, or apricots; but all of them are improved by a south wall both as to early and taste: north, north-west, or north-east, deserve nothing but greens;

these should be divided by woodbines or jessamines between every green, and the other walls by a vine between every fruit-tree; the best sorts upon the south walls, the common white and black upon east and west, because the other trees being many of them (especially peaches) very transitory; some apt to die with hard winters, others to be cut down and make room for new fruits: without this method the walls are left for several years unfurnished; whereas the vines on each side cover the void space in one summer, and when the other trees are grown, make only a pillar between them of two or three foot broad.

Whoever would have the best fruits, in the most perfection our climate will allow, should not only take care of giving them as much sun, but also as much air as he can; no tree, unless dwarf, should be suffered to grow within forty foot of your best walls, but the farther they lie open is still the better. Of all others, this care is most necessary in vines, which are observed abroad to make the best wines, where they lie upon sides of hills, and so most exposed to the air and the winds. The way of pruning them too is best learned from the vineyards, where you see nothing in winter, but what looks like a dead stump; and upon our walls they should be left but like a ragged staff, not above two or three eyes at most upon the bearing branches; and the lower the vine and fewer the branches, the grapes will be still the better.

The best figure of a garden is either a square or an oblong, and either upon a flat or a descent; they have all their beauties, but the best I esteem an oblong upon a descent. The beauty, the air, the view makes amends for the expence, which is very great in finishing and supporting the terras-walks, in levelling the parterres, and in the stone stairs that are necessary from one to the other.

The perfectest figure of a garden I ever saw, either at home or abroad, was that of Moor-Park in Hertfordshire, when I knew it about thirty years ago. It was made by the Countess of Bedford, esteemed among the greatest wits of her time, and celebrated by Doctor Donne; and with very great care, excellent contrivance, and much cost; but greater sums may be thrown away without effect or honour, if there want sense in proportion to money, or if nature be not followed; which I take to be the great rule in this, and perhaps in every thing else, as far as the conduct not only of our lives, but our governments. And whether the greatest of mortal men should attempt the forcing of nature, may best be judged by observing how seldom God Almighty does it himself, by so few true and undisputed miracles as we see or hear of in the world. For my own part, I know not three wiser precepts for the conduct either of Princes or private men, than

——Servare modum, finemque tueri,
Naturamque sequi.

Because I take the garden I have named to have been in all kinds the most beautiful and perfect, at least in the figure and disposition, that I have ever seen, I will describe it for a model to those that meet with such a situation, and are above the regards of common expence. It lies on the side of a hill (upon which the house stands) but not very steep. The length of the house, where the best rooms and of most use or pleasure are, lies upon the breadth of the garden, the great parlour opens into the middle of a terras gravel-walk that lies even with it, and which may be, as I remember, about three hundred paces long, and broad in proportion; the border set with standard laurels, and at large distances, which have the beauty of orange-trees, out of flower and fruit: from this walk are

three descents by many stone steps, in the middle and at each end, into a very large parterre. This is divided into quarters by gravel walks, and adorned with two fountains and eight statues in the several quarters; at the end of the terras-walk are two summer-houses, and the sides of the parterre are ranged with two large cloisters, open to the garden, upon arches of stone, and ending with two other summer-houses even with the cloisters, which are paved with stone, and designed for walks of shade, there being none other in the whole parterre. Over these two cloisters are two terrasses covered with lead, and fenced with balusters; and the passage into these airy walks is out of the two summer-houses, at the end of the first terras-walk. The cloister facing the south is covered with vines, and would have been proper for an orange-house, and the other for myrtles, or other more common greens; and had, I doubt not, been cast for that purpose, if this piece of gardening had been then in as much vogue as it is now.

From the middle of the parterre is a descent by many steps flying on each side of a grotto that lies between them (covered with lead, and flat) into the lower garden, which is all fruit-trees, ranged about the several quarters of a wilderness which is very shady; the walks here are all green, the grotto embellished with figures of shell-rock-work, fountains, and water-works. If the hill had not ended with the lower garden, and the wall were not bounded by a common way that goes through the park, they might have added a third quarter of all greens; but this want is supplied by a garden on the other side the house, which is all of that sort, very wild, shady, and adorned with rough rock-work and fountains.

This was Moor-Park when I was acquainted with it, and the sweetest place, I think, that I have seen

in my life, either before or since, at home or abroad; what it is now, I can give little account, having passed through several hands that have made great changes in gardens as well as houses; but the remembrance of what it was is too pleasant ever to forget, and therefore I do not believe to have mistaken the figure of it, which may serve for a pattern to the best gardens of our manner, and that are most proper for our country and climate.

What I have said, of the best forms of gardens, is meant only of such as are in some sort regular; for there may be other forms wholly irregular that may, for aught I know, have more beauty than any of the others; but they must owe it to some extraordinary dispositions of nature in the seat, or some great race of fancy or judgment in the contrivance, which may reduce many disagreeing parts into some figure, which shall yet, upon the whole, be very agreeable. Something of this I have seen in some places, but heard more of it from others who have lived much among the Chineses; a people, whose way of thinking seems to lie as wide of ours in Europe, as their country does. Among us, the beauty of building and planting is placed chiefly in some certain proportions, symmetries, or uniformities; our walks and our trees ranged so as to answer one another, and at exact distances. The Chineses scorn this way of planting, and say, a boy, that can tell an hundred, may plant walks of trees in straight lines, and over-against one another, and to what length and extent he pleases. But their greatest reach of imagination is employed in contriving figures, where the beauty shall be great, and strike the eye, but without any order or disposition of parts that shall be commonly or easily observed: and, though we have hardly any notion of this sort of beauty, yet they have a particular word to express it, and, where they find it hit their eye at first

sight, they say the *sharawadgi* is fine or is admirable, or any such expression of esteem. And whoever observes the work upon the best India gowns, or the painting upon their best screens or purcellans, will find their beauty is all of this kind (that is) without order. But I should hardly advise any of these attempts in the figure of gardens among us; they are adventures of too hard atchievement for any common hands; and, though there may be more honour if they succeed well, yet there is more dishonour if they fail, and it is twenty to one they will; whereas, in regular figures, it is hard to make any great and remarkable faults.

The picture I have met with in some relations of a garden made by a Dutch Governor of their colony, upon the cape de Bonne Esperance, is admirable, and described to be of an oblong figure, very large extent, and divided into four quarters, by long and cross walks, ranged with all sorts of orange-trees, lemons, limes, and citrons; each of these four quarters is planted with the trees, fruits, flowers, and plants that are native and proper to each of the four parts of the world; so as in this one inclosure are to be found the several gardens of Europe, Asia, Afric, and America. There could not be, in my mind, a greater thought of a gardener, nor a nobler idea of a garden, nor better suited or chosen for the climate, which is about thirty degrees, and may pass for the Hesperides of our age, whatever or where-ever the other was. Yet this is agreed by all to have been in the islands or continent upon the south-west of Africa: but what their forms or their fruits were, none, that I know, pretend to tell; nor whether their golden apples were for taste, or only for sight, as those of Montezuma were in Mexico, who had large trees, with stocks, branches, leaves, and fruits, all admirably composed and wrought of gold; but this was only

stupendous in cost and art, and answers not at all, in my opinion, the delicious varieties of nature in other gardens.

What I have said of gardening is perhaps enough for any Gentleman to know, so as to make no great faults, nor be much imposed upon in the designs of that kind, which I think ought to be applauded, and encouraged in all countries; that and building being a sort of creation, that raise beautiful fabrics and figures out of nothing, that make the convenience and pleasure of all private habitations, that employ many hands, and circulate much money among the poorer sort and artisans, that are a public service to one's country, by the example as well as effect, which adorn the scene, improve the earth, and even the air itself in some degree. The rest that belongs to this subject must be a gardener's part; upon whose skill, diligence, and care, the beauty of the grounds and excellence of the fruits will much depend. Though if the soil and sorts be well chosen, well suited, and disposed to the walls, the ignorance or carelessness of the servants can hardly leave the master disappointed.

I will not enter further upon his trade, than by three short directions or advices: first, in all plantations, either for his master or himself, to draw his trees out of some nursery that is upon a leaner and lighter soil than his own where he removes them: without this care they will not thrive in several years, perhaps never; and must make way for new, which should be avoided all that can be; for life is too short and uncertain, to be renewing often your plantations. The walls of your garden, without their furniture, look as ill as those of your house; so that you cannot dig up your garden too often, nor too seldom cut them down.

The second is, in all trees you raise, to have some regard to the stock, as well as the graft or bud; for

the first will have a share in giving taste and season to the fruits it produces, how little soever it is usually observed by our gardeners. I have found grafts of the same tree, upon a bon-cretien stock bring chasseray-pears that lasted till March, but with a rind green and rough: and others, upon a metre-john-stock, with a smooth and yellow skin, which were rotten in November. I am apt to think, all the difference between the St. Michael and the ambrette pear (which has puzzled our gardeners) is only what comes from this variety of the stocks; and by this, perhaps, as well as by raising from stones and kernels, most of the new fruits are produced every age. So the grafting a crab upon a white thorn brings the lazarolli, a fruit esteemed at Rome, though I do not find it worth cultivating here; and I believe the cidrato (or hermaphrodite) came from budding a citron upon an orange. The best peaches are raised by buds of the best fruits upon stocks growing from stones of the best peaches; and so the best apples and pears, from the best kinds grafted upon stocks from kernels also of the best sorts, with respect to the season, as well as beauty and taste. And I believe so many excellent winter-pears, as have come into France since forty years, may have been found out by grafting summer-pears of the finest taste and most water upon winter-stocks.

The third advice is, to take the greatest care and pains in preserving your trees from the worst disease, to which those of the best fruits are subject in the best soils, and upon the best walls. It is what has not been (that I know of) taken notice of with us, till I was forced to observe it by the experience of my gardens, though I have since met with it in books both ancient and modern. I found my vines, peaches, apricots, and plums upon my best south-walls, and sometimes upon my west, apt

for several years to a soot or smuttiness upon their leaves first, and then upon their fruits, which were good for nothing the years they were so affected. My orange-trees were likewise subject to it, and never prospered while they were so: and I have known some collections quite destroyed by it. But I cannot say that ever I found either my figs or pears infected with it, nor any trees upon my east-walls, though I do not well conjecture at the reason. The rest were so spoiled with it, that I complained to several of the oldest and best gardeners of England, who knew nothing of it, but that they often fell into the same misfortune, and esteemed it some blight of the spring. I observed after some years, that the diseased trees had very frequent, upon their stocks and branches, a small insect of a dark-brown colour, figured like a shield, and about the size of a large wheat-corn; they stuck close to the bark, and in many places covered it, especially about the joints: in winter they are dry, and thin-shelled, but in spring they begin to grow soft, and to fill with moisture, and to throw a spawn like a black dust upon the stocks, as well as the leaves and fruits.

I met afterwards with the mention of this disease, as known among orange-trees, in a book written upon that subject in Holland, and since in Pausanias, as a thing so much taken notice of in Greece, that the author describes a certain sort of earth which cures *pediculos vitis*, or, the lice of the vine. This is of all others the most pestilent disease of the best fruit trees, and upon the very best soils of gravel and sand (especially where they are too hungry): and is so contagious, that it is propagated to new plants raised from old trees that are infected, and spreads to new ones that are planted near them which makes me imagine, that it lies in the root, and that the best cure were by

application there. But I have tried all sorts of soil without effect, and can prescribe no other remedy, than to prune your trees as close as you can, especially the tainted wood, then to wash them very clean with a wet brush, so as not to leave one shell upon them that you can discern: and upon your oranges to pick off every one that you can find, by turning every leaf, as well as brushing clean the stocks and branches. Without these cares and diligences, you had better root up any trees that are infected, renew all the mould in your borders or boxes, and plant new sound trees, rather than suffer the disappointments and vexation of your old ones.

I may perhaps be allowed to know something of this trade, since I have so long allowed myself to be good for nothing else, which few men will do, or enjoy their gardens, without often looking abroad to see how other matters play, what motions in the State, and what invitations they may hope for into other scenes.

For my own part, as the country life, and this part of it more particularly, were the inclination of my youth itself, so they are the pleasure of my age; and I can truly say, that, among many great employments that have fallen to my share, I have never asked or sought for any one of them, but often endeavoured to escape from them, into the ease and freedom of a private scene, where a man may go his own way and his own pace, in the common paths or circles of life.

Inter cuncta leges et per cunctabere doctos
Qua ratione queas traducere leniter ævum,
Quid minuat curæ, quid te tibi reddet amicum,
Quid pure tranquillet, honos, an dulce lucellum,
An secretum iter, et fallentis semita vitæ.

But above all the learned read, and ask
By what means you may gently pass your age,
What lessens care, what makes thee thine own friend,

What truly calms the mind; honour, or wealth,
Or else a private path of stealing life.

These are questions that a man ought at least to ask himself, whether he asks others or no, and to choose his course of life rather by his own humour and temper, than by common accidents, or advice of friends; at least if the Spanish proverb be true, that a fool knows more in his own house than a wise man in another's.

The measure of choosing well is, whether a man likes what he has chosen; which, I thank God, has befallen me; and though, among the follies of my life, building and planting have not been the least, and have cost me more than I have the confidence to own; yet they have been fully recompensed by the sweetness and satisfaction of this retreat, where, since my resolution taken of never entering again into any public employments, I have passed five years without ever going once to town, though I am almost in sight of it, and have a house there always ready to receive me. Nor has this been any sort of affectation, as some have thought it, but a mere want of desire or humour to make so small a remove; for when I am in this corner, I can truly say with Horace,

Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
Quid sentire putas, quid credis, amice, precari?
Sit mihi, quod nunc est, etiam minus, ut mihi vivam
Quod superest ævi, si quid superesse volunt Di.
Sit bona librorum, et provisæ frugis in annum
Copia, ne fluitem dubiæ spe pendulus horæ,
Hoc satis est orasse Jovem, qui donat et aufert.

Me when the cold Digentian stream revives,
What does my friend believe I think or ask?
Let me yet less possess, so I may live,
Whate'er of life remains, unto myself.
May I have books enough, and one year's store,
Not to depend upon each doubtful hour;
This is enough of mighty Jove to pray,
Who, as he pleases, gives and takes away.

That which makes the cares of gardening more necessary, or at least more excusable, is, that all men eat fruit that can get it; so as the choice is only, whether one will eat good or ill; and between these the difference is not greater in point of taste and delicacy, than it is of health: for the first I will only say, that whoever has used to eat good will do very great penance when he comes to ill: and for the other, I think nothing is more evident, than as ill or unripe fruit is extremely unwholesome, and causes so many untimely deaths, or so much sickness about autumn, in all great cities where it is greedily sold as well as eaten; so no part of diet, in any season, is so healthful, so natural, and so agreeable to the stomach, as good and well-ripened fruits; for this I make the measure of their being good: and, let the kinds be what they will, if they will not ripen perfectly in our climate, they are better never planted, or never eaten. I can say it for myself at least, and all my friends, that the season of summer fruits is ever the season of health with us, which I reckon from the beginning of June to the end of September: and for all sicknesses of the stomach (from which most others are judged to proceed), I do not think any that are, like me, the most subject to them, shall complain, whenever they eat thirty or forty cherries before meals, or the like proportion of strawberries, white figs, soft peaches, or grapes perfectly ripe. But these after Michaelmas I do not think wholesome with us, unless attended by some fit of hot and dry weather, more than is usual after that season: when the frosts or the rain hath taken them, they grow dangerous, and nothing but the autumn and winter-pears are to be reckoned in season, besides apples; which, with cherries, are of all others the most innocent food, and perhaps the best physic. Now whoever will be sure to eat good fruit, must

do it out of a garden of his own; for, besides the choice so necessary in the sorts, the soil, and so many other circumstances that go to compose a good garden, or produce good fruits, there is something very nice in gathering them, and choosing the best, even from the same tree. The best sorts of all among us, which I esteem the white figs and the soft peaches, will not carry without suffering. The best fruit that is bought, has no more of the Master's care, than how to raise the greatest gains; his business is to have as much fruit as he can upon a few trees; whereas the way to have it excellent is to have but little upon many trees. So that for all things out of a garden, either of sallads or fruits, a poor man will eat better, that has one of his own, than a rich man that has none. And this is all I think of necessary and useful to be known upon this subject.

AN

ESSAY

UPON

THE CURE OF THE GOUT

BY MOXA.

WRITTEN TO MONSIEUR DE ZULICHEM.

Nimeguen, June 18, 1677.

I NEVER thought it would have befallen me to be the first that should try a new experiment, any more than be the author of any new invention: being little inclined to practise upon others, and as little that others should practise upon me. The same warmth of head disposes men to both, though one be commonly esteemed an honour, and the other a reproach. I am sorry the first, and the worst of the two, is fallen to my share, by which all a man can hope is to avoid censure, and that is much harder than to gain applause; for this may be done by one great or wise action in an age; but to avoid censure, a man must pass his life without saying or doing one ill or foolish thing.

This might serve the turn, if all men were just; but as they are, I doubt nothing will, and that it is the idlest pretension in the world to live without it; the meanest subjects censuring the actions of the greatest Prince; the silliest servants, of the wisest master; and young children, of the oldest parents. Therefore I have not troubled myself to give any account of an experiment I made by

your persuasion, to satisfy those who imputed it to folly, rashness, or impatience; but to satisfy you who proposed the thing in kindness to me, and desired the relation of it in kindness to other men.

I confess your engaging me first in this adventure of the Moxa, and desiring the story of it from me, is like giving one the torture, and then asking his confession; which is hard usage to an innocent man and a friend. Besides, having suffered the first, I took myself to have a right of refusing the other. But I find your authority with me too great to be disputed in either; and the pretence of public good, is a cheat that will ever pass in the world, though so often abused by ill men, that I wonder the good do not grow ashamed to use it any longer. Let it be as it will, you have what you asked, and cannot but say that I have done, as well as suffered, what you had a mind to engage me in. I have told you the story with the more circumstance, because many questioned the disease, that they might not allow of the cure; though the certainty of one, and force of the other, has been enough evidenced by two returns since I left you at the Hague, which passed with the same success. The reasonings upon this method, which seem to confirm the experiment, and other remedies for the gout here reflected on, are aimed at the same end for which you seemed so much to desire this relation. The digressions I cannot excuse otherwise, than by the confidence that no man will read them, who has not at least as much leisure as I had when I writ them; and whosoever dislikes or grows weary of them, may throw them away. For those about temperance, age, or their effects and periods, in reference to public business, they could be better addressed to none than to you, who have passed the longest life with the most temperance, and the best health and humour of any man I know; and, hav-

ing run through so much great and public business, have found out the secret so little known, that there is a time to give it over.

I will pretend but to one piece of merit in this relation, which is to have writ it for you in English, being the language I always observed to have most of your kindness among so many others of your acquaintance. If your partiality to that, and to me, and to your own request, will not excuse all the faults of this paper, I have nothing more to say for it, and so will leave you to judge of it as you please.

Among all the diseases to which the intemperance of this age disposes it (at least in these northern climates), I have observed none to increase so much, within the compass of my memory and conversation, as the gout, nor any I think of worse consequence to mankind; because it falls generally upon persons engaged in public affairs and great employments, upon whose thoughts and cares (if not their motions and their pains) the common good and service of their country so much depends. The general officers of armies, the governors of provinces, the public ministers in councils at home, and embassies abroad (that have fallen in my way), being generally subject to it in one degree or other. I suppose the reason of this may be, that men seldom come into those posts till after forty years old, about which time the natural heat beginning to decay, makes way for those distempers they are most inclined to by their native constitutions, or by their customs and habits of life. Besides, persons in those posts are usually born of families noble and rich, and so derive a weakness of constitution from the ease and luxury of their ancestors, and the delicacy of their own education: or if not, yet the plenty of their fortunes from those very employ-

ments, and the general custom of living in them at much expence, engages men in the constant use of great tables, and in frequent excesses of several kinds, which must end in diseases when the vigour of youth is past, and the force of exercise (that served before to spend the humour) is given over for a sedentary and unactive life.

These I take to be the reasons of such persons being so generally subject to such accidents more than other men; and they are so plain, that they must needs occur to any one that thinks. But the ill consequence of it is not so obvious, though perhaps as evident to men that observe; and may be equally confirmed by reasons and example. It is, that the vigour of the mind decays with that of the body, and not only humour and invention, but even judgment and resolution, change and languish with ill constitution of body and of health; and by this means public business comes to suffer by private infirmities, and kingdoms or states fall into weaknesses and distempers or decays of those persons that manage them.

Within these fifteen years past, I have known a great fleet disabled for two months, and thereby lose great occasions, by an indisposition of the Admiral, while he was neither well enough to exercise, nor ill enough to leave the command. I have known two towns, of the greatest consequence, lost, contrary to all forms, by the governor's falling ill in the time of the sieges.

I have observed the fate of a campania determine contrary to all appearances, by the caution and conduct of a general, which were attributed, by those that knew him, to his age and infirmities, rather than his own true qualities, acknowledged otherwise to have been as great as most men of the age. I have seen the counsels of a noble country grow bold or timorous, according to the fits of his

good or ill health that managed them, and the pulse of the government beat high or low with that of the Governor: and this unequal conduct makes way for great accidents in the world: nay, I have often reflected upon the counsels and fortunes of the greatest Monarchies, rising and decaying sensibly with the ages and healths of the Princes and chief officers that governed them. And I remember one great Minister that confessed to me, when he fell into one of his usual fits of the gout, he was no longer able to bend his mind or thoughts to any public business, nor give audiences beyond two or three of his own domestics, though it were to save a kingdom; and that this proceeded, not from any violence of pain, but from a general languishing and faintness of spirits, which made him, in those fits, think nothing worth the trouble of one careful or solicitous thought. For the approaches or lurkings of the gout, the spleen, or the scurvy, nay, the very fumes of indigestion, may indispose men to thought and to care, as well as diseases of danger and pain.

Thus, accidents of health grow to be accidents of State, and public constitutions come to depend, in a great measure, upon those of particular men; which makes it perhaps seem necessary, in the choice of persons for great employments (at least such as require constant application and pains), to consider their bodies as well as their minds; and ages and health, as well as their abilities.

When I was younger than I am, and thereby a worse judge of age, I have often said, that what great thing soever man proposed to do in his life, he should think of atchieving it by fifty years old. Now I am approaching that age, I think it much more than I did before; and that no man rides to an end of that stage without feeling his journey in all parts, whatever distinctions are made between

the mind and the body, or between judgment and memory. And though I have known some few, who might perhaps be of use in council, upon great occasions, till after threescore and ten; and have heard that the two late Ministers in Spain, Counts of Castriglio and Pignoranda, were so till fourscore; yet I will not answer, that the very conduct of public affairs, under their Ministry, has not always tasted of the lees of their age.

I observe in this assembly at Nimeguen, from so many several parts of Christendom, that, of one and twenty Ambassadors, there are but three above fifty years old; which seems an argument of my opinion being in a manner general: nor can I think the period ill calculated, at least for a great General of armies, or Minister of State, in times or scenes of great action, when the care of a State or an army ought to be as constant as the Chemic's fire, to make any great production; and, if it goes out for an hour, perhaps the whole operation fails. Now, I doubt whether any man, after fifty, be capable of such constant application of thought, any more than of long and violent labour or exercise, which that certainly is, and of the finest parts. Besides, none that feel sensibly the decays of age, and his life wearing off, can figure to himself those imaginary charms in riches and praise, that men are apt to do in the warmth of their blood; and those are the usual incentives towards the attempt of great dangers, and support of great trouble and pains.

To confirm this by examples, I have heard that Cardinal Mazarine, about five-and-fifty, found it was time to give over: that the present Grand Visier, who passes for one of the greatest men of that empire, or this age, began his Ministry about twenty-eight: and the greatest I have observed, which was that of Monsieur De Witt, began at three-and-thirty, and lasted to forty-eight; and could not, I be-

lieve, have gone on many years longer at that height, even without that fatal end. Among other qualities which entered into the composition of this Minister, the great care he had of his health, and the little of his life, were not, I think, the least considerable; since, from the first he derived his great temperance, as well as his great boldness and constancy from the other. And if intemperance be allowed to be the common mother of gout, or dropsy, and of scurvy, and most other lingering diseases, which are those that infest the State, I think temperance deserves the first rank among public virtues, as well as those of private men; and doubt whether any can pretend to the constant steady exercise of prudence, justice, or fortitude, without it.

Upon these grounds, whoever can propose a way of curing, or preventing the gout, (which entered chiefly into those examples I have mentioned of public affairs suffering by private indispositions,) would perhaps do a service to Princes and States, as well as to particular men; which makes me the more willing to tell my story, and talk out of my trade, being strongly possessed with a belief, that what I have tried or thought, or heard upon this subject, may go a great way in preventing the growth of this disease where it is but new, though perhaps longer methods are necessary to deal with it when it is old.

From my grandfather's death I had reason to apprehend the stone; and from my father's life the gout, who has been for this many years, and still continues, much afflicted with it. The first apprehension has been, I confess, with me ever the strongest, and the other hardly in my thoughts, having never deserved it by the usual forms; nor had I ever, I thank God, the least threat from either of them till the last year at the Hague, being

then in the seven-and-fortieth year of my age, when, about the end of February, one night at supper, I felt a sudden pain in my right foot, which, from the first moment it began, increased sensibly, and in an hour's time to that degree, that though I said nothing, yet others took notice of it in my face, and said, they were sure I was not well, and would have had me go to bed. I confessed I was in pain, and thought it was with some sprain at tennis: I pulled off my shoe, and with some ease that gave me stirred not till the company broke up, which was about three hours after my pain began. I went away to bed; but it raged so much all night, that I could not sleep a wink. I endured it till about eight next morning, in hopes still of stealing some rest; but then making my complaints, and shewing my foot, they found it very red and angry; and, to relieve my extremity of pain, began to apply common poultices to it; and, by the frequent change of them, I found some ease, and continued this exercise all that day, and a great part of the following night, which I passed with very little rest. The morning after, my foot began to swell, and the violence of my pain to assuage; though it left such a soreness, that I could hardly suffer the cloaths of my bed, nor stir my foot but as it was lifted.

By this time my illness, being enquired after about the town, was concluded to be the gout; and being no longer feverish, or in any extremity of pain, I was content to see company. Every body that came to visit me found something to say upon the occasion; some made a jest of it, or a little reproach; others were serious in their mirth, and made me compliments, as upon a happy accident and sign of long life. The Spaniards asked me *albricias* for telling me the news, that I might be sure it was the gout; and, in short, none of the com-

pany was in ill humour but I, who had rather by half have had a fever, or a worse disease, at that time, where the danger might have been greater, but the trouble and the melancholy would, I am sure, have been less.

Though I had never feared the gout, yet I had always scorned it as an effect commonly of intemperance; and hated it, as what I thought made men unfit for any thing after they were once deep engaged in it: besides, I was pressed in my journey at that time to Nimeguen by his Majesty's commands, to assist at the treaty there. Most of the Ambassadors from the several parts of Christendom were upon their way: one of my colleagues was already upon the place, and I had promised immediately to follow; for, by our commission, we were to be two to act in that mediation; and, to help at this pinch, I had always heard that a fit of the gout used to have six weeks at the least for its ordinary period. With these comforts about me, and sullenness enough to use no remedy of a hundred that were told me, Monsieur Zulichem came to see me (among the rest of my friends) who, I think, never came into company without saying something that was new, and so he did upon my occasion. For, talking of my illness, and approving of my obstinacy against all the common prescriptions; he asked me, whether I had never heard the Indian way of curing the gout by Moxa? I told him no; and asked him what it was? He said it was a certain kind of moss that grew in the East-Indies; that their way was, whenever any body fell into a fit of the gout, to take a small quantity of it, and form it into a figure broad at bottom as a twopence, and pointed at top; to set the bottom exactly upon the place where the violence of the pain was fixed; then with a small round perfumed match (made likewise in the Indies) to give fire to the top

of the moss; which burning down by degrees, came at length to the skin, and burnt it till the moss was consumed to ashes: that many times the first burning would remove the pain; if not, it was to be renewed a second, third, and fourth time, till it went away, and till the person found he could set his foot boldly to the ground and walk.

I desired him to tell me how he had come acquainted with this new operation. He said, by the relation of several who had seen and tried it in the Indies, but particularly by an ingenious little book, written of it by a Dutch Minister at Batavia, who being extremely tormented with a fit of the gout, an old Indian woman, coming to see him, undertook to cure him, and did it immediately by this Moxa; and, after many experiments of it there, had written this treatise of it in Dutch for the use of his countrymen, and sent over a quantity of the moss and matches to his son at Utrecht to be sold, if any would be persuaded to use them. That though he could not say whether experiment had been made of it here, yet the book was worth reading; and, for his part, he thought he should try it, if ever he should fall into that disease.

I desired the book, which he promised to send me next morning; and this discourse of Monsieur Zulichem busied my head all night. I hated the very name of the gout, and thought it a reproach; and for the good sign people called it, I could not find that mended an ill thing; nor could I like any sign of living long in weakness or in pain. I deplored the loss of my legs, and confinement to my chamber at an age that left me little pleasure but of walking and of air; but the worst circumstance of all was the sentence passed upon it of being without cure.

I had passed twenty years of my life, and several accidents of danger in my health, without any

use of physicians; and, from some experiments of my own, as well as much reading and thought upon that subject, had reasoned myself into an opinion, that the use of them and their methods (unless in some sudden and acute disease) was itself a very great venture; and that their greatest practisers practised least upon themselves, or their friends. I had ever quarrelled with their studying art more than nature, and applying themselves to methods, rather than to remedies; whereas the knowledge of the last is all that nine parts in ten of the world have trusted to in all ages.

But for the common remedies of the gout, I found exceptions to them all; the time of purging was past with me, which otherwise I should certainly have tried upon the authority of the great Hippocrates, who says it should be done upon the first motion of the humour in the gout. For poultices, I knew they allayed pain; but withal, that they drew down the humours, and supplied the parts, thereby making the passages wider, and apter to receive them in greater quantity; and I had often heard it concluded, that the use of them ended in losing that of one's limbs, by weakening the joint upon every fit. For plaisters that had any effect, I thought it must be by dispersing or repelling the humours, which could not be done without endangering perhaps some other disease of the bowels, the stomach, or the head. Rest and warmth, either of cloaths or bathings, I doubted would in a degree have the effects of poultices; and sweating was proper for prevention, rather than remedy. So that all I could end in, with any satisfaction, was patience and abstinence; and though I easily resolved of the last, yet the first was hard to be found in the circumstances of my business as well as of my health.

All this made me rave upon Monsieur Zuli-

chem's new operation: and for the way of curing by fire, I found twenty things to give me an opinion of it. I remembered what I had read of the Egyptians of old, who used it in most diseases; and what I had often heard of that practice still continuing among the Moors of Afric; so that a slave is seldom taken (as both Spaniards and Portuguese affirm) who has not many scars of the hot iron upon his body, which they use upon most distempers, but especially those of the head, and consequently in physic as well as in surgery. In the time of the Incas reign in Peru (which I take to have been one of the greatest constitutions of absolute monarchy that has been in the world) no composition was allowed by the laws to be used in point of medicine, but only simples proper to each disease. Burning was much in use, either by natural or artificial fires; particularly for illness of teeth, and soreness or swelling of the gums (which they were subject to from their nearness to the sea) they had an herb which never failed of curing it, and, being laid to the gums, burnt away all the flesh that was swelled or corrupted, and made way for new that came again as sound as that of a child. I remembered to have had myself, in my youth, one cruel wound cured by scalding medicament, after it was grown so putrified as to have (in the surgeon's opinion) endangered the bone; and the violent swelling and bruise of another taken away as soon as I received it, by scalding it with milk. I remembered the cure of chilblains, when I was a boy, (which may be called the children's gout,) by burning at the fire, or else by scalding brine, that has (I suppose) the same effect. I had heard of curing the stings of adders, and bites of mad dogs, by immediately burning the part with a hot iron; and of some strange cures of frenzies, by casual applications of fire to the lower parts; which

seems reasonable enough, by the violent revulsion it may make of humours from the head; and agrees with the opinions and practice I mentioned before, of Egypt and Africa. Perhaps blistering in the neck, and hot pigeons, may be in use among us upon the same grounds; and in our methods of surgery, nothing is found of such effect in the case of old ulcers as fire, which is certainly the greatest drawer and drier, and thereby the greatest cleanser that can be found. I knew very well, that in diseases of cattle, there is nothing more commonly used, nor with greater success; and concluded it was but a tenderness to mankind that made it less in use amongst us, and which had introduced corrosives and caustics to supply the place of it, which are indeed but artificial fires.

I mention all these reflections, to shew that the experiment I resolved to make was upon thought, and not rashness or impatience (as those called it that would have dissuaded me from it); but the chief reason was, that I liked no other, because I knew they failed every day, and left men in despair of being ever well cured of the gout.

Next morning I looked over the book which Monsieur Zulichem had promised me, written by the Minister at Batavia. I pretended not to judge of the Indian philosophy, or reasonings upon the cause of the gout; but yet thought them as probable as those of physicians here; and liked them so much the better, because it seems their opinion in the point is general among them, as well as their method of curing; whereas the differences among ours, are almost as many in both, as there are physicians that reason upon the causes, or practise upon the cure of that disease. They hold, that the cause of the gout is a malignant vapour that falls upon the joint between the bone and the skin that covers it, which, being the most sensible of all parts of the

body, causes the violence of the pain. That the swelling is no part of the disease, but only an effect of it, and of a kindness in nature, that, to relieve the part affected, calls down humours to damp the malignity of the vapour, and thereby assuage the sharpness of the pain; which seldom fails, whenever the part grows very much swelled. That consequently the swellings and returns of the gout are chiefly occasioned by the ill methods of curing it at first. That this vapour, falling upon joints which have not motion, and thereby heat enough, to dispel it, cannot be cured otherwise than by burning, by which it immediately evaporates; and that this is evident by the present ceasing of the pain upon the second, third, or fourth application of the Moxa, which are performed in a few minutes time. And the author affirms it happens often there, that upon the last burning, an extreme stench comes out of the skin where the fire had opened it.

Whatever the reasonings were, which yet seemed ingenious enough; the experiments alledged, with so much confidence, and to be so general in those parts, and told by an author that writ like a plain man, and one whose profession was to tell truth, helped me to resolve upon making the trial. I was confirmed in this resolution by a German physician, Doctor Theodore Coledy, who was then in my family, a sober and intelligent man, whom I dispatched immediately to Utrecht, to bring me some of the Moxa, and learn the exact method of using it, from the man that sold it, who was son to the Minister of Batavia. He returned with all that belonged to this cure, having performed the whole operation upon his hand by the man's direction. I immediately made the experiment in the manner before related, setting the Moxa just upon the place where the first violence of my pain began, which was the joint of the great toe, and where the greatest

anger and soreness still continued, notwithstanding the swelling of my foot, so that I had never yet, in five days, been able to stir it, but as it was lifted.

Upon the first burning, I found the skin shrink all round the place; and whether the greater pain of the fire had taken away the sense of a smaller one or no, I could not tell; but I thought it less than it was: I burnt it the second time, and upon it observed the skin about it to shrink, and the swelling to flat yet more than at first. I began to move my toe, which I had not done before; but I found some remainders of pain. I burnt it the third time, and observed still the same effects without, but a much greater within; for I stirred the joint several times at ease; and, growing bolder, I set my foot to the ground without any pain at all. After this, I pursued the method prescribed by the book; and the author's son at Utretcht, and had a bruised clove of garlic laid to the place that was burnt, and covered with a large plaister of Diapalma, to keep it fixed there; and when this was done, feeling no more pain, and treading still bolder and firmer upon it, I cut a slipper to let in my foot, swelled as it was, and walked half a dozen turns about the room, without any pain or trouble, and much to the surprise of those that were about me, as well as to my own. For, though I had reasoned myself beforehand into an opinion of the thing, yet I could not expect such an effect as I found, which seldom reaches to the degree that is promised by the prescribers of any remedies, whereas this went beyond it, having been applied so late, and the prescription reaching only to the first attack of the pain, and before the part begins to swell.

For the pain of the burning itself, the first time, it is sharp, so that a man be allowed to complain; I resolved I would not, but that I would count to a certain number, as the best measure how long it

lasted. I told sixscore and four, as fast as I could; and when the fire of the Moxa was out, all pain of burning was over. The second time was not near so sharp as the first, and the third a great deal less than the second. The wound was not raw, as I expected, but looked only scorched and black; and I had rather endure the whole trouble of the operation, than half a quarter of an hour's pain in the degree I felt it the first whole night.

After four-and-twenty hours, I had it opened, and found a great blister drawn by the garlic, which I used no more, but had the blister cut, which run a good deal of water, but filled again by the next night; and this continued for three days, with only a plaister of Diapalma upon it; after which time the blister dried up, and left a sore about as big as a two-pence, which healed and went away in about a week's time longer; but I continued to walk every day, and without the least return of pain, the swelling still growing less, though it were near six weeks before it was wholly gone. I favoured it all this while more than I needed, upon the common opinion, that walking too much might draw down the humour; which I have since had reason to conclude a great mistake, and that, if I had walked as much as I could from the first day the pain left me, the swelling might have left me too in a much less time.

The talk of this cure ran about the Hague, and made the conversation in other places, as well as in the visits I received while I kept my chamber, which was about a fortnight after the burning. Monsieur Zulichem came to me among the rest of the good company of the town, and much pleased with my success, as well from his own great humanity and particular kindness to me, as from the part he had in being the first prescriber of my cure, and from the opinion it gave him of a common

good fortune befallen all that felt or were in danger of the gout.

Among others he told it to, Monsieur Serinchamps was one, an Envoy of the Duke of Lorrain's, then in town; a person very much and very deservedly esteemed among all the good company in town, and to whom every body was kind upon the score of his own good humour, or his master's ill fortunes: he had been long subject to the gout, and with constant returns of long and violent fits two or three times in a year. He was a man frank and generous, and loved to enjoy health whilst he had it, without making too much reflection upon what was to follow; and so, when he was well, denied himself nothing of what he had a mind to eat or drink; which gave him a body full of humours, and made his fits of the gout as frequent and violent as most I have known: when they came, he bore them as he could, and forgot them as soon as they were past, till a new remembrance. At this time he lay ill of a cruel fit, which was fallen upon his knee, and with extreme pain: when he heard of my cure, he sent to me first for the relation of it; and upon it, for my Moxa, and for Coleby to apply it. He suffered it; but after his pleasant way roared out, and swore at me all the while it was burning, and asked if I took him for a sorcerer, that I sent to burn him alive? yet, with all this, the pain went away upon it, and returned no more to the same place; but he was something discouraged by a new pain falling some days after upon his elbow on the other side, which gave him a new fit, though gentler and shorter than they used to be.

About the same time one of the maids of my house was grown almost desperate with the toothach, and want of sleep upon it, and was without remedy. The book gives the same cure for certain in that illness, by burning upon the great vein

under the ear; and the man who sold it at Utrecht had assured Coleby he had seen many cures by it in that kind. We resolved to try; which was done, and the pain immediately taken away, and the wench perfectly well, without hearing of it any more, at least while she was in my house.

Thus passed the first experiment; upon which Monsieur Zulichem, giving an account of it to some of his friends at Gresham college, came to me before I left the Hague, formally to desire me from them, and from himself, that I would give a relation of it that might be made public, as a thing which might prove in appearance of common utility to so great numbers as were subject to that disease; and told me, that some of Gresham college had already given order for translating into English the little Batavian treatise. I commended the care of publishing it among us, and thereby inviting others to an experiment I had reason to approve; but excused myself from any relation of my own, as having too much business at that time, and at all times caring little to appear in public. I had another reason to decline it, that ever used to go far with me upon all new inventions or experiments, which is, that the best trial of them is by time, and observing whether they live or no; and that one or two trials can pretend to make no rule, no more than one swallow a summer; and so before I told my story to more than my friends, I had a mind to make more trials myself, or see them made by other people as wise as I had been.

During the confinement of this fit, I fell into some methods, and into much discourse upon the subject of the gout, that may be perhaps as well worth reflection by such as feel or apprehend it, as what I have told of this Indian cure. In the first place, from the day I kept my chamber till I left it, and began to walk abroad, I restrained myself

to so regular a diet, as to eat flesh but once a day, and little at a time, without salt or vinegar; and to one moderate draught, either of water or small ale. I concluded to trust to abstinence and exercise, as I had ever resolved, if I fell into this disease; and if it continued, to confine myself wholly to the milk-diet, of which I had met with very many and great examples, and had a great opinion even in long and inveterate gouts. Besides this refuge, I met with, in my visits and conversation arising upon my illness, many notions or medicines very new to me, and reflections that may be so perhaps to other men. Old Prince Maurice of Nassau told me, he laughed at the gout; and though he had been several times attacked, yet it never gave him care nor trouble. That he used but one remedy, which was, whenever he felt it, to boil a good quantity of horse-dung from a stone-horse of the Hermelinne colour, as he called it in French, which is a native white, with a sort of raw nose, and the same commonly about the eyes; that, when this was well boiled in water, he set his leg in a pail-full of it, as hot as he could well endure it, renewing it as it grew cool for above an hour together; that after it, he drew his leg immediately into a warm bed, to continue the perspiration as long as he could, and never failed of being cured. Whether the remedy be good, or the circumstances of colour signify any thing more than to make more mystery, I know not; but I observed, that he ever had a set of such Hermelinne horses in his coach, which he told *me* was on purpose that he might never want this remedy.

The Count Kinski, Ambassador from the Emperor to the treaty at Nimeguen, gave me a receipt of the salt of harts-horn, by which a famous Italian physician of the Emperor's had performed mighty cures upon many others as well as himself, and the

last year upon the Count Montecuculi: the use of this I am apt to esteem, both from the quality given it of provoking sweat extremely, and of taking away all sharpness from whatever you put it in; which must both be of good effect in the cure of the gout.

The Rhyngrave, who was killed last summer before Maestricht, told me his father the old Rhyngrave, whom I knew very well, had been long subject to the gout, and never used other method or remedy than, upon the very first fit he felt, to go out immediately and walk, whatever the weather was, and as long as he was able to stand, and pressing still most upon the foot that threatened him; when he came home he went to a warm bed, and was rubbed very well, and chiefly upon the place where the pain began. If it continued, or returned next day, he repeated the same course, and was never laid up with it; and before his death recommended this course to his son, if he should ever fall into that accident.

A Dutchman, who had been long in the East-Indies, told me, in one part of them where he had lived some time, the general remedy of all that were subject to the gout, was rubbing with hands; and that whoever had slaves enough to do that constantly every day, and relieve one another by turns, till the motion raised a violent heat about the joints where it was chiefly used, was never troubled much, or laid up by that disease.

My youngest brother told me he had a keeper very subject to it, but that it never laid him up, but he was still walking after his deer, or his stud, while he had the fits upon him, as at other times, and often from morning to night, though in pain all the while. This he gave me as one instance that poor and toiling men have sometimes the gout, and that many more may have it, who take no more

notice of it than his keeper did; who yet he confessed used to bring the fits of gout upon him by fits of drinking, which, no doubt, is a receipt that will hardly fail, if men grow old in the custom.

Monsieur Serinchamps told me, a Lorrain surgeon had undertaken to cure it by a more extraordinary way than any of these, which was by whipping the naked part with a great rod of nettles till it grew all over blistered; and that he had once persuaded him to perform this penance in a sharp fit he had, and the pain in his knee so violent, as helped him to endure this remedy. He said it was cruel; that all where he was whipped grew so angry, and swelled as well as blistered, that he thought it had given him a fever that night. The next morning the part was all as stiff as a boot, and the skin like parchment; but that keeping it anointed with a certain oil likewise of nettles, it past in two days, and the gout too, without feeling any more pain that fit.

All these things put together, with what a great physician writes of cures by whipping with rods, and another with holly, and by other cruelties of cutting or burning, made me certainly conclude, that the gout was a companion that ought to be treated like an enemy, and by no means like a friend, and that grew troublesome chiefly by good usage; and this was confirmed to me by considering that it haunted usually the easy and the rich, the nice and the lazy, who grow to endure much, because they can endure little: that make much of it as soon as it comes, and yet leave not making much of themselves too: that take care to carry it presently to bed, and keep it safe and warm, and indeed lay up the gout for two or three months, while they give out, that the gout lays up them. On the other side, it hardly approaches the rough and the poor, such as labour for meat, and eat only for hunger;

that drink water, either pure, or but discoloured with malt; that know no use of wine, but for a cordial, as it is, and perhaps was only intended: or if such men happen by their native constitutions to fall into the gout, either they mind it not at all, having no leisure to be sick, or they use it like a dog, they walk on, or they toil and work as they did before; they keep it wet and cold; or if they are laid up, they are perhaps forced by that to fast more than before, and if it lasts, they grow impatient, and fall to beat it or whip it, or cut it, or burn it; and all this while, perhaps, never know the very name of the gout.

But to follow my experiment: I passed that summer here at Nimeguen, without the least remembrance of what had happened to me in the spring, till about the end of September, and then began to feel a pain that I knew not what to make of, in the same joint, but of my other foot: I had flattered myself with hopes, that the vapour had been exhaled, as my learned authors had taught me, and that thereby the business had been ended; this made me neglect my Moxa for two days, the pain not being violent, till at last my foot began to swell, and I could set it no longer to the ground. Then I fell to my Moxa again, and burnt it four times before the pain went clear away, as it did upon the last, and I walked at ease, as I had done the first time; and within six days after, above a league, without the least return of any pain.

I continued well till this spring, when, about the end of March, feeling again the same pain, and in the same joint, but of the first foot; and finding it grow violent, I immediately burnt it, and felt no more after the third time; was never off my legs, nor kept my chamber a day. Upon both these last experiments I omitted the application of garlic, and contented myself with a plaister only of

Diapalma, upon the place that was burnt, which crusted and healed in very few days, and without any trouble. I have since continued perfectly well to this present June; and with so much confidence of the cure, that I have been content to trouble myself some hours with telling the story, which, it is possible, may at one time or other be thought worth making public, if I am further confirmed by more time and experiments of my own, or of others. And thereby I may not only satisfy Monsieur Zulichem, but myself too, who should be sorry to omit any good I thought I could do to other men, though never so unknown.

But this cure, I suppose, cannot pretend to deal with inveterate gouts, grown habitual by long and frequent returns, by dispositions of the stomach to convert even the best nourishment into those humours, and the vessels to receive them. For such constitutions, by all I have discovered, or considered upon this subject, the remedies (if any) are to be proposed either from a constant course of the milken diet, continued at least for a year together; or else from some of those methods commonly used in the cure of a worse disease (if at least I may be bold with one that is so much in vogue); the usual exceptions to the first are not only so long a constraint, but the weakness of spirits whilst it continues, and the danger of fevers whenever it is left off. There may, I believe, be some care necessary in this last point, upon so great a change; but for the other, I have met with no complaints among those that have used it; and Count Egmont, who has done so, more I believe than any other man, has told me, he never found himself in so much vigour as in the midst of that course. I have known so many great examples of this cure, and heard of its being so familiar in Austria, that I wonder it has gained no more ground in other places, and am

apt to conclude from it, that the loss of pain is generally thought to be purchased too dear by the loss of pleasure.

For the other, I met with a physician, whom I esteemed a man of truth, that told me of several great cures of the gout, by a course of guiacum; and of two patients of his own, that had gone so far as to be fluxed for it, and with success. And indeed, there seems nothing so proper, as what pretends to change the whole mass of the blood, or else a long course of violent perspiration. But the mischief is, that the gout is commonly the disease of aged men, who cannot go through with these strong remedies, which young men play with upon other occasions; and the reason, I suppose, why these ways are so little practised, is because it happens so seldom that young men have the gout.

Let the disease be new or old, and the remedies either of common or foreign growth, there is one ingredient of absolute necessity in all cases: for, whoever thinks of curing the gout without great temperance, had better resolve to endure it with patience: and I know not whether some desperate degrees of abstinence would not have the same effect upon other men, as they had upon Atticus, who, weary of his life as well as his physicians, by long and cruel pains of a dropsical gout, and despairing of any cure, resolved by degrees to starve himself to death; and went so far, that the physicians found he had ended his disease instead of his life, and told him, that to be well, there would need nothing but only resolve to live. His answer was noble; that, since dying was a thing to be done, and he was now so far on his way, he did not think it worth the while to return. This was said and done; and could indeed have been so by none but such a man as Atticus, who was singular in his life as well as his death, and has been ever, I confess,

by me as much esteemed in both, as any of those that have made greater figures upon the busy scenes of their own times, and since, in records of story and of fame.

But perhaps some such methods might succeed with others upon the designs to live, as they did with him upon those to die; and though such degrees may be too desperate, yet none of temperance can, I think, be too great for those that pretend the cure of inveterate gouts, or indeed of most other diseases to which mankind is exposed, rather by the viciousness than by the frailty of their natures. Temperance, that virtue without pride, and fortune without envy, that gives indolence of body, and tranquillity of mind; the best guardian of youth, and support of old age; the precept of reason, as well as religion; and physician of the soul, as well as the body; the tutelar Goddess of health, and universal medicine of life, that clears the head, and cleanses the blood, that eases the stomach, and purges the bowels, that strengthens the nerves, enlightens the eyes, and comforts the heart: in a word, that secures and perfects the digestion, and thereby avoids the fumes and winds to which we owe the colic and the spleen; those crudities and sharp humours that feed the scurvy and the gout, and those slimy dregs, out of which the gravel and stone are formed within us; diseases by which we often condemn ourselves to greater torments and miseries of life, than have perhaps been yet invented by anger or revenge, or inflicted by the greatest tyrants upon the worst of men.

I do not allow the pretence of temperance to all such as are seldom or never drunk, or fall into surfeits; for men may lose their health without losing their senses, and be intemperate every day, without being drunk perhaps once in their lives: nay, for aught I know, if a man should pass the month

in a college-diet, without excess or variety of meats or of drinks, but only the last day give a loose in them both, and so far till it comes to serve him for physic rather than food, and he utter his stomach as well as his heart, he may perhaps, as to the mere considerations of health, do much better than another that eats every day, but as men do generally in England, who pretend to live well in Court or in town; that is, in plenty and luxury, with great variety of meats, and a dozen glasses of wine at a meal, still spurring up appetite when it would lie down of itself; flushed every day, but never drunk; and, with the help of dozing three hours after dinner, as sober and wise as they were before.

But that which I call temperance, and reckon so necessary in all attempts and methods of curing the gout, is a regular and simple diet, limited by every man's experience of his own easy digestion, and thereby proportioning, as near as well can be, the daily repairs to the daily decays of our wasting bodies. Nor can this be determined by measures and weights, or any general Lessian rules; but must vary with the vigour or decays of age, or of health, and the use or disuse of air, or of exercise, with the changes of appetite: and thereby what every man may find or suspect of the present strength or weakness of digestion: and in case of excesses, I take the German proverbial cure, by a hair of the same beast, to be the worst in the world; and the best to be that which is called the monks diet, to eat till you are sick, and fast till you are well again. In all courses of the gout, the most effectual point, I take to be abstinence from wine, further than as a cordial, where faintness or want of spirits require it: and the use of water where the stomach will bear it, as I believe most men's will, and with great advantage of digestion, unless they are spoiled with long and constant use of wines or

other strong drinks. In that case they must be weaned, and the habit changed by degrees, and with time, for fear of falling into consumptions, instead of recovering dropsies or gouts. But the wines used by those that feel or fear this disease, or pursue the cure, should rather be Spanish or Portugal, than either French or Rhenish; and of the French, rather the Provence or Languedoc, than the Bourdeaux or Campagne; and of the Rhenish, the Rhingaw and Bleker, of which at least it may be said that they do not so much harm as the others.

But I have known so great cures, and so many, done by obstinate resolutions of drinking no wine at all, that I put more weight upon the part of temperance, than any other. And I doubt very much whether the great increase of that disease in England, within these twenty years, may not have been occasioned by the custom of so much wine introduced into our constant and common tables: for this use may be more pernicious to health, than that of taverns and debauches, according to the old stile, which were but by fits, and upon set or casual encounters. I have sometimes thought that this custom of using wine, of our common drink, may alter, in time, the very constitution of our nation, I mean the native tempers of our bodies and minds, and cause a heat and sharpness in our humours, which is not natural to our climate. Our having been denied it by nature, is argument enough, that it was never intended us for common use; nor do I believe it was in any other countries, there being so small a part of the world where it grows; and where it does, the use of it pure being so little practised, and in some places defended by customs or laws. So the Turks have not known it, unless of late years; and I have met with many Spaniards, that never tasted it pure in their lives; nor, in the

time when I was in France, did I observe any I conversed with to drink it unmixed at meals. The true use of wine is either as I mentioned, for a cordial; and I believe there is not a better to such as drink it seldom: or else what the mother of Lemuel tells her son, "Give strong drink to him that is ready to perish, and wine to those that are heavy of heart; let him drink and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more." At least it ought to be reserved for the times and occasions of feast and of joy, and be treated like a mistress rather than a wife, without abandoning either our wits to our humours, or our healths to our pleasure, or that of one sense to those of all the rest, which I doubt it impairs. This philosophy, I suppose, may pass with the youngest and most sensual men, while they pretend to be reasonable; but, whenever they have a mind to be otherwise, the best way they can take is to drink or to sleep, and either of them will serve the turn.

OF

HEALTH AND LONG LIFE.

I CAN truly say, that of all the paper I have blotted, which has been a great deal in my time, I have never written any thing for the public without the intention of some public good. Whether I have succeeded, or no, is not my part to judge; and others, in what they tell me, may deceive either me or themselves. Good intentions are at least the seed of good actions; and every man ought to sow them, and leave it to the soil and the seasons whether they come up or no, and whether he or any other gather the fruit.

I have chosen those subjects of these essays, wherein I take human life to be most concerned, and which are of most common use, or most necessary knowledge; and wherein, though I may not be able to inform men more than they know, yet I may perhaps give them the occasion to consider more than they do.

This is a sort of instruction that no man can dislike, since it comes from himself, and is made without envy or fear, constraint or obligation, which make us commonly dislike what is taught us by others. All men would be glad to be their own masters, and should not be sorry to be their own scholars, when they pay no more for their learning than their own thoughts, which they have commonly more store of about them than they know what to do with, and which, if they do not apply to something of good use, nor employ about something of ill, they will trifle away upon something vain or impertinent: their thoughts will be but wak-

ing dreams, as their dreams are sleeping thoughts. Yet, of all sorts of instructions, the best is gained from our own thoughts as well as experience: for though a man may grow learned by other men's thoughts, yet he will grow wise or happy only by his own; the use of other men's towards these ends is but to serve for one's own reflections; otherwise they are but like meat swallowed down for pleasure or greediness, which only charges the stomach, or fumes into the brain, if it be not well digested, and thereby turned into the very mass or substance of the body that receives it.

Some writers, in casting up the goods most desirable in life, have given them this rank; health, beauty, and riches. Of the first I find no dispute, but to the two others much may be said: for beauty is a good that makes others happy rather than one's self; and how riches should claim so high a rank, I cannot tell, when so great, so wise, and so good a part of mankind have in all ages preferred poverty before them. The Therapeutæ and Ebionites among the Jews, the primitive Monks and modern Friers among Christians, so many Dervises among the Mahometans, the Brachmans among the Indians, and all the ancient philosophers; who, whatever else they differed in, agreed in this of despising riches, and at best esteeming them an unnecessary trouble or incumbrance of life: so that whether they are to be reckoned among goods or evils is yet left in doubt.

When I was young and in some idle company, it was proposed that every one should tell what their three wishes should be, if they were sure to be granted: some were very pleasant, and some very extravagant; mine were health, and peace, and fair weather; which, though out of the way among young men, yet perhaps might pass well enough among old: they are all of a strain, for health in

the body is like peace in the State and serenity in the air: the sun, in our climate at least, has something so reviving, that a fair day is a kind of sensual pleasure, and of all others the most innocent.

Peace is a public blessing, without which no man is safe in his fortunes, his liberty, or his life: neither innocence or laws are a guard of defence; no possessions are enjoyed but in danger or fear, which equally lose the pleasure and ease of all that fortune can give us. Health is the soul that animates all enjoyments of life, which fade and are tasteless, if not dead, without it: a man starves at the best and the greatest tables, makes faces at the noblest and most delicate wines, is old and impotent in Seraglios of the most sparkling beauties, poor and wretched in the midst of the greatest treasures and fortunes: with common diseases strength grows decrepit, youth loses all vigour, and beauty all charms; music grows harsh; and conversation disagreeable; palaces are prisons, or of equal confinement; riches are useless, honour and attendance are cumbersome, and crowns themselves are a burden: but, if diseases are painful and violent, they equal all conditions of life, make no difference between a Prince and a beggar; and a fit of the stone or the colic puts a King to the rack, and makes him as miserable as he can do the meanest, the worst, and most criminal of his subjects.

To know that the passions or distempers of the mind makes our lives unhappy, in spite of all accidents and favours of fortune, a man perhaps must be a philosopher; and requires much thought, and study, and deep reflections. To be a Stoic, and grow insensible of pain, as well as poverty or disgrace, one must be perhaps something more or less than a man, renounce common nature, oppose common truth and constant experience. But there needs little learning or study, more than common

thought and observation, to find out, that ill health loses not only the enjoyments of fortune, but the pleasures of sense, and even of imagination, and hinders the common operations both of body and mind from being easy and free. Let philosophers reason and differ about the chief good or happiness of man; let them find it where they can, and place it where they please; but there is no mistake so gross, or opinion so impertinent, (how common soever) as to think pleasures arise from what is without us, rather than from what is within; from the impression given us of objects, rather than from the disposition of the organs that receive them. The various effects of the same objects upon different persons, or upon the same persons at different times, make the contrary most evident. Some distempers make things look yellow, others double what we see; the commonest alter our tastes and our smells, and the very foulness of ears changes sounds. The difference of tempers, as well as of age, may have the same effect, by the many degrees of perfection or imperfection in our original tempers, as well as of strength or decay, from the differences of health and of years. From all which it is easy, without being a great naturalist, to conclude, that our perceptions are formed, and our imaginations raised upon them, in a very great measure, by the dispositions of the organs through which the several objects make their impressions; and that these vary according to the different frame and temper of the others; as the sound of the same breath passing through an oaten pipe, a flute, or a trumpet.

But to leave philosophy, and return to health. Whatever is true in point of happiness depending upon the temper of the mind, it is certain that pleasures depend upon the temper of the body; and that, to enjoy them, a man must be well himself,

as the vessel must be sound to have your wine sweet; for otherwise, let it be never so pleasant and so generous, it loses the taste; and pour in never so much, it all turns sour, and were better let alone. Whoever will eat well, must have a stomach; who will relish the pleasure of drinks, must have his mouth in taste; who will enjoy a beautiful woman, must be in vigour himself; nay, to find any felicity, or take any pleasure in the greatest advantages of honour and fortune, a man must be in health. Who would not be covetous, and with reason, if this could be purchased with gold? who not ambitious, if it were at the command of power, or restored by honour? But alas! a white staff will not help gouty feet to walk better than a common cane; nor a blue ribband bind up a wound so well as a fillet: the glitter of gold or of diamonds will but hurt sore eyes, instead of curing them; and an aking head will be no more eased by wearing a crown than a common night-cap.

If health be such a blessing, and the very source of all pleasure, it may be worth the pains to discover the regions where it grows, the springs that feed it, the customs and methods by which it is best cultivated and preserved. Towards this end, it will be necessary to consider the examples or instances we meet with of health and long life; which is the consequence of it; and to observe the places, the customs, and the conditions of those who enjoyed them in any degree extraordinary; from whence we may best guess at the causes, and make the truest conclusions.

Of what passed before the flood, we know little from Scripture itself, besides the length of their lives; so as I shall only observe upon that period of time, that men are thought neither to have eat flesh nor drunk wine before it ended: for to Noah first seems to have been given the liberty of feed-

ing upon living creatures, and the prerogative of planting the vine. Since that time we meet with little mention of very long lives in any stories either sacred or prophane, besides the Patriarchs of the Hebrews, the Brachmans among the old Indians, and the Brazilians at the time that country was discovered by the Europeans. Many of these were said then to have lived two hundred, some three hundred years. The same terms of life are attributed to the old Brachmans; and how long those of the Patriarchs were is recorded in Scripture. Upon all these I shall observe, that the Patriarchs' abodes were not in cities, but in open countries and fields: that their lives were pastoral, or employed in some sorts of agriculture: that they were of the same race, to which their marriages were generally confined: that their diet was simple, as that of the ancients is generally represented, among whom flesh or wine was seldom used but at sacrifices or solemn feasts. The Brachmans were all of the same races, lived in fields and in woods, after the course of their studies were ended, and fed only upon rice, milk, or herbs. The Brazilians, when first discovered, lived the most natural original lives of mankind, so frequently described in ancient countries, before laws, or property, or arts made entrance among them; and so their customs may be concluded to have been yet more simple than either of the other two. They lived without business or labour, further than for their necessary food, by gathering fruits, herbs, and plants: they knew no drink but water; were not tempted to eat nor drink beyond common thirst or appetite; were not troubled with either public or domestic cares, nor knew any pleasures but the most simple and natural.

From all these examples and customs it may probably be concluded, that the common ingre-

dients of health and long life (where births are not impaired from the conception by any derived infirmities of the race they come from) are great temperance, open air, easy labour, little care, simplicity of diet, rather fruits and plants than flesh, which easier corrupts; and water, which preserves the radical moisture, without too much increasing the radical heat: whereas sickness, decay, and death, proceed commonly from the one preying too fast upon the other, and at length wholly extinguishing it.

I have sometimes wondered, that the regions of so much health and so long lives were all under very hot climates; whereas the more temperate are allowed to produce the strongest and most vigorous bodies. But weaker constitutions may last as long as the strong, if better preserved from accidents; so Venice glass, as long as an earthen pitcher, if carefully kept; and, for one life that ends by mere decay of nature or age, millions are intercepted by accidents from without or diseases within; by untimely deaths or decays; from the effects of excess and luxury, immoderate repletion or exercise; the preying of our minds upon our bodies by long passions or consuming cares, as well as those accidents which are called violent. Men are perhaps most betrayed to all these dangers by great strength and vigour of constitution, by more appetite and larger fare in colder climates: in the warm, excesses are found more pernicious to health, and so more avoided; and, if experience and reflection do not cause temperance among them, yet it is forced upon them by the faintness of appetite. I can find no better account of a story Sir Francis Bacon tells, of a very old man, whose customs and diet he inquired; but he said he observed none besides eating before he was hungry and drinking before he was dry; for by that rule he was sure

never to eat nor drink much at a time. Besides, the warmth of air keeps the pores open, and by continual perspiration breathes out those humours, which breed most diseases, if in cooler climates it be not helped by exercise. And this I take to be the reason of our English constitutions finding so much benefit by the air of Montpelier, especially in long colds or consumptions, or rather lingering diseases; though I have known some who attributed the restoring of their health there as much to the fruits as the air of that place.

I know not whether there may be any thing in the climate of Brazil more propitious to health than in other countries: for, besides what was observed among the natives upon the first European discoveries, I remember Don Francisco de Melo, a Portugal Ambassador in England, told me, it was frequent in his country for men spent with age or other decays, so as they could not hope for above a year or two of life, to ship themselves away in a Brazil fleet, and after their arrival there to go on a great length, sometime of twenty or thirty years, or more, by the force of that vigour they recovered with that remove. Whether such an effect might grow from the air, or the fruits of that climate, or by approaching nearer the sun, which is the fountain of life and heat, when their natural heat was so far decayed; or whether the piecing out of an old man's life were worth the pains, I cannot tell: perhaps the play is not worth the candle.

I do not remember, either in story or modern observation, any examples of long life common to any parts of Europe, which the temper of the climate has probably made the scene of luxury and excesses in diet. Greece and Rome were of old celebrated, or rather defamed, for those customs, when they were not known in Asia nor Afric; and how guilty our colder climates are in this point,

beyond the warmer of Spain and Italy, is but too well known. It is common among Spaniards of the best quality, not to have tasted pure wine at forty years old. It is an honour to their laws, that a man loses his testimony who can be proved once to have been drunk; and I never was more pleased with any reply, than that of a Spaniard, who having been asked whether he had a good dinner at a friend's house, said, *Si, sennor, a via sabrado;* Yes, Sir, for there was something left. The great trade in Italy, and resort of strangers, especially of Germans, has made the use of wine something more frequent there, though not much among the persons of rank, who are observed to live longer at Rome and Madrid, than in any other towns of Europe, where the qualities of the air force them upon the greatest temperance, as well as care and precaution. We read of many Kings very long-lived in Spain, one I remember that reigned above seventy years. But Philip de Comines observes, that none in France had lived to threescore, from Charlemain's time to that of Lewis XI. whereas in England, from the conquest to the end of Queen Elizabeth (which is a much shorter period of time) there have reigned five Kings and one Queen, whereof two lived sixty-five years, two sixty-eight, and two reached at least the seventieth year of their age. I wondered upon this subject when Monsieur Pompone, French Ambassador in my time at the Hague, a person of great worth and learning, as well as observation, told me there, that in his life he had never heard of any man in France that arrived at a hundred years; and I could imagine no reason for it, unless it be that the excellence of their climate, subject neither to much cold nor heat, gave them such a liveliness of temper and humour, as disposed them to more pleasures of all kinds than in any other countries. And, I doubt, pleasures too long con-

tinued, or rather too frequently repeated, may spend the spirits, and thereby life too fast, to leave it very long; like blowing a fire too often, which makes it indeed burn the better, but last the less. For as pleasures perish themselves in the using, like flowers that fade with gathering: so it is neither natural nor safe to continue them long, to renew them without appetite, or ever to provoke them by arts or imagination where nature does not call; who can best tell us when and how much we need, or what is good for us, if we were so wise as to consult her. But a short life and a merry carries it, and is without doubt better than a long with sorrow and pain.

For the honour of our climate it has been observed by ancient authors, that the Britons were longer-lived than any other nation to them known. And in modern times there have been more and greater examples of this kind than in any other countries of Europe. The story of old Parr is too late to be forgotten by many now alive, who was brought out of Derbyshire to the court in King Charles I's time, and lived to a hundred and fifty-three years old; and might have, as was thought, gone further, if the change of country air and diet for that of the town had not carried him off, perhaps untimely, at that very age. The late Robert Earl of Leicester, who was a person of great learning and observation, as well as of truth, told me several stories very extraordinary upon this subject; one, of a Countess of Desmond, married out of England in Edward IV's time, and who lived far in King James's reign, and was counted to have died some years above a hundred and forty; at which age she came from Bristol to London to beg some relief at Court, having long been very poor by the ruin of that Irish family into which she was married.

Another he told me, was of a beggar at a bookseller's shop, where he was some weeks after the

death of Prince Henry; and observing those that passed by, he was saying to his company, that never such a mourning had been seen in England: this beggar said, No, never since the death of Prince Arthur. My Lord Leicester, surprised, asked what she meant, and whether she remembered it: she said, Very well: and upon his more curious inquiry, told him that her name was Rainsford, of a good family in Oxfordshire: that, when she was about twenty years old, upon the falseness of a lover, she fell distracted; how long she had been so, nor what passed in that time, she knew not; that, when she was thought well enough to go abroad, she was fain to beg for her living; that she was some time at this trade before she recovered any memory of what she had been, or where bred; that, when this memory returned, she went down into her country, but hardly found the memory of any of her friends she had left there; and so returned to a parish in Southwark, where she had some small allowance among other poor, and had been for many years; and once a week walked into the city, and took what alms were given her. My Lord Leicester told me, he sent to inquire at the parish, and found their account agree with the woman's: upon which he ordered her to call at his house once a week, which she did for some time; after which he heard no more of her. This story raised some discourse upon a remark of some in the company, that mad people are apt to live long. They alledged examples of their own knowledge: but the result was, that, if it were true, it must proceed from the natural vigour of their tempers, which disposed them to passions so violent as ended in frenzies; and, from the great abstinence and hardships of diet they are forced upon by the methods of their cure, and severity of those who had them in care; no other drink but water being allowed them, and very little meat.

The last story I shall mention from that noble person, upon this subject, was of a morrice-dancer in Herefordshire; whereof, he said, he had a pamphlet still in his library, written by a very ingenious Gentleman of that county: and which gave an account how such a year of King James's reign, there went about the country a set of morrice-dancers, composed of ten men who danced, a maid Marian, and a tabor and pipe: and how these twelve, one with another, made up twelve hundred years. It is not so much, that so many in one small county should live to that age, as that they should be in vigour and in humour to travel and to dance.

I have, in my life, met with two of above a hundred and twelve; whereof the woman had passed her life in service, and the man in common labour, till he grew old, and fell upon the parish. But I met with one who had gone a much greater length, which made me more curious in my inquiries. It was an old man, who begged usually at a lonely inn upon the road in Staffordshire, who told me he was a hundred twenty-four years old; that he had been a soldier in the Cales voyage, under the Earl of Essex, of which he gave me a sensible account. That, after his return, he fell to labour in his own parish, which was about a mile from the place where I met him; that he continued to work till a hundred-and-twelve, when he broke one of his ribs by a fall from a cart, and being thereby disabled, he fell to beg. This agreeing with what the master of the house told me, was reported and believed by all his neighbours. I asked him what his usual food was; he said, Milk, bread and cheese, and flesh when it was given him. I asked him what he used to drink; he said, O, Sir, we have the best water in our parish that is in all the neighbourhood. Whether he never drank any thing else? he said, Yes, if any body gave it him, but not otherwise. And

the host told me, he had got many a pound in his house, but never spent one penny. I asked if he had any neighbours as old as he; and he told me, but one, who had been his fellow-soldier at Cales, and was three years older; but he had been most of his time in a good service, and had something to live on now he was old.

I have heard, and very credibly, of many in my life, above a hundred years old, brought as witnesses upon trials of titles, and bounds of land: but I have observed most of them have been of Derbyshire, Staffordshire, or Yorkshire, and none above the rank of common farmers. The oldest I ever knew any persons of quality, or indeed any Gentleman, either at home or abroad, was fourscore and twelve. This, added to all the former recites or observations, either of long-lived races or persons in any age or country, makes it easy to conclude, that health and long life are usually blessings of the poor, not of the rich, and the fruits of temperance rather than of luxury and excess. And, indeed, if a rich man does not in many things live like a poor, he will certainly be the worse for his riches: if he does not use exercise, which is but voluntary labour; if he does not restrain appetite by choice, as the other does by necessity. If he does not practise sometimes even abstinence and fasting, which is the last extreme of want and poverty: if his cares and his troubles increase with his riches, or his passions with his pleasures, he will certainly impair in health whilst he improves his fortunes, and lose more than he gains by the bargain; since health is the best of all human possessions, and without which the rest are not relished or kindly enjoyed.

It is observable in story, that the ancient philosophers lived generally very long; which may be attributed to their great temperance, and their free-

dom from common passions as well as cares of the world. But the friers, in many orders, seem to equal them in all these, and yet are not observed to live long; so as some other reason may be assigned: I can give none, unless it be the great and constant confinement of the last, and liberty of the others: I mean not only that of their persons to their cloisters (which is not universal among them), but their condition of life, so tied to rules, and so absolutely subject to their superiors' commands, besides the very confinement of their minds and thoughts to a certain compass of notions, speculations, and opinions. The philosophers took the greatest liberty that could be, and allowed their thoughts, their studies and inventions, the most unconfined range over the whole universe. They both began and continued their profession and condition of life at their own choice, as well as their abodes: whereas among the friers, though they may be voluntary at first, yet, after their vows made, they grow necessary, and thereby constrained. Now it is certain, that as nothing damps or depresses the spirits like great subjection or slavery, either of body or mind, so nothing nourishes, revives, and fortifies them like great liberty: which may possibly enter, among other reasons, of what has been observed about long life being found more in England than in others of our neighbour countries.

Upon the general and particular surveys already made, it may seem that the mountainous or barren countries are usually the scenes of health and long life: that they have been found rather in the hills of Palestine and Arcadia, than in the plains of Babylon or of Thessaly: and among us in England, rather upon the peak of Derbyshire, and the heaths of Staffordshire, than the fertile soils of other counties, that abound more in people and in riches. Whether this proceeds from the air being clearer

of gross and damp exhalations, or from the meaner condition, and thereby harder fare, and more simple diet, or from the stronger nourishment of those grains and roots which grow in dry soils, I will not determine; but think it is evident, from common experience, that the natives and inhabitants of hilly and barren countries have not only more health in general, but also more vigour, than those of the plains or fertile soils, and usually exceed them even in size and stature: so the largest bodies of men that are found in these parts of Europe, are the Switzers, the Highlanders of Scotland, and the northern Irish. I remember King Charles the Second, (a prince of much and various knowledge, and curious observation) upon this subject, falling in discourse, asked me, what could be the reason, that in mountainous countries the men were commonly larger, and yet the cattle of all sorts smaller, than in others. I could think of none, unless it were, that appetite being more in both, from the air of such places, it happened that, by the care of parents in the education of children, these seldom wanted food of some sort or other, enough to supply nature and satisfy appetite, during the age of their growth, which must be the greater by the sharpness of hunger and strength of digestion in drier airs: for milk, roots, and oats, abound in such countries, though there may be scarcity of other food or grain. But the cattle, from the shortness of pasture and of fodder, have hardly enough to feed in summer; and very often want, in winter, even necessary food for sustenance of life; many are starved, and the rest stunted in their growth, which, after a certain age, never advances. Whether this be a good reason, or a better may be found, I believe one part of it will not be contested by any man that tries; which is, that the open dry air of hilly countries gives more stomach than that of

plains and valleys, in which cities are commonly built, for the convenience of water, of trade, and the plenty of fruits and grains produced by the earth, with much greater increase and less labour in softer than in harder grounds. The faintness of appetite in such places, especially in great cities, makes the many endeavours to relieve and provoke it by art, where nature fails; and this is one great ground of luxury, and so many and various and extravagant inventions to heighten and improve it; which may serve perhaps for some refinement in pleasure, but not at all for any advantages of health or of life: on the contrary, all the great cities, celebrated most by the concourse of mankind, and by the inventions and customs of the greatest and most delicate luxury, are the scenes of the most frequent and violent plagues, as well as other diseases. Such are in our age Grand Cairo, Constantinople, Naples, and Rome; though the exact and constant care, in this last, helps them commonly to escape better than the others.

This introduces the use, and indeed the necessity of physic, in great towns and very populous countries, which remoter and more barren or desolate places are scarce acquainted with: for in the course of common life, a man must either often exercise, or fast, or take physic, or be sick; and the choice seems left to every one as he likes. The two first are the best methods and means of preserving health; the use of physic is for restoring it, and curing those diseases which are generally caused by the want or neglect of the others; but is neither necessary, nor perhaps useful, for confirming health, or to the length of life, being generally a force upon nature; though the end of it seems to be rather assisting nature, than opposing it in its course.

How ancient, how general the study or profes-

sion of this science has been in the world, and how various the practice, may be worth a little inquiry and observation, since it so nearly concerns our healths and lives. Greece must be allowed to have been the mother of this, as much or more than of other sciences, most whereof are transplanted thither from more ancient and more eastern nations. But this seems to have first risen there, and with good reason; for Greece having been the first scene of luxury we meet with in story, and having thereby occasioned more diseases, seemed to owe the world that justice of providing the remedies. Among the more simple and original customs and lives of other nations it entered late, and was introduced by the Grecians. In ancient Babylon, how great and populous soever, no physicians were known, nor other methods for the cure of diseases, besides abstinence, patience, domestic care; or when these succeeded not, exposing the patient in the market, to receive the instruction of any persons that passed by, and pretended by experience or inquiries to have learned any remedies for such an illness. The Persian Emperors sent into Greece for the physicians they needed, upon some extremity at first, but afterwards kept them residing with them. In old Rome they were long unknown; and, after having entered there, and continued for some time, they were all banished, and returned not in many years, till their fondness of all the Grecian arts and customs restored this, and introduced all the rest, among them; where they continued in use and esteem during the greatness of that empire. With the rise and progress of the fierce northern powers and arms, this, as well as all other learning, was in a manner extinguished in Europe. But when the Saracen empire grew to such a height in the more eastern and southern parts of the world, all arts and sciences, following the traces of greatness and se-

curity in States or governments, began to flourish there, and this among the rest. The Arabians seem to have first retrieved and restored it in the Mahometan dominions; and the Jews in Europe, who were long the chief professors of it in the Gothic kingdoms; having been always a nation very mercurial, of great genius and application to all sorts of learning, after their dispersion; till they were discouraged by the persecutions of their religion and their persons among most of the Christian States. In the vast territories of India there are few physicians, or little esteemed, besides some European, or else of the race either of Jews or Arabs.

Through these hands and places this science has passed with greatest honour and applause: among others, it has been less used or esteemed.

For the antiquity of it, and original in Greece, we must have recourse to Æsculapius, who lived in the age before the Trojan war, and whose son Macaon is mentioned to have assisted there; but whether as a physician or a surgeon, I do not find. How simple the beginnings of this art were, may be observed by the story or tradition of Æsculapius going about the country with a dog and a she-goat always following, both which he used much in his cures; the first for licking all ulcerated wounds, and the goat's milk for diseases of the stomach and the lungs. We find little more recorded of either his methods or medicines; though he was so successful by his skill, or so admired for the novelty of his profession, as to have been honoured with statues, esteemed son of Apollo, and worshipped as a god.

Whoever was accounted the god of physic, the prince of this science must be by all, I think, allowed to have been Hippocrates. He flourished in the time of the first renowned philosophers of Greece, (the chief of whom was Democritus,) and

his writings are the most ancient of any that remain to posterity; for those of Democritus, and others of that age, are all lost, though many were preserved till the time of Antoninus Pius, and perhaps something later: and it is probable, were suppressed by the pious zeal of some fathers, under the first Christian Emperor. Those of Hippocrates escaped this fate of his age, by being esteemed so useful to human life, as well as the most excellent upon all subjects he treats: for he was a great philosopher and naturalist, before he began the study of physic, to which both these are perhaps necessary. His rules and methods continued in practice as well as esteem, without any dispute, for many ages, till the time of Galen: and I have heard a great physician say, that his aphorisms are still the most certain and uncontrolled of any that science has produced. I will judge but of one, which, in my opinion, has the greatest race and height both of sense and judgment that I have read in so few words, and the best expressed, *Ars longa, vita brevis, experientia fallax, occasio præceps, judicium difficile.* By which alone, if no more remained of that admirable person, we may easily judge how great a genius he was, and how perfectly he understood both nature and art.

In the time of Adrian, Galen began to change the practice and methods of physic, derived to that age from Hippocrates; and those of his new institution continue generally observed to our time. Yet Paracelsus, about two hundred years ago, endeavoured to overthrow the whole scheme of Galen, and introduce a new one of his own, as well as the use of chymical medicines; and has not wanted his followers and admirers ever since, who have, in some measure, compounded with the Galenists, and brought a mixed use of chymical medicines into the present practice.

Doctor Harvey gave the first credit, if not rise, to the opinion about the circulation of the blood, which was expected to bring in great and general innovations into the whole practice of physic, but has had no such effect. Whether the opinion has not had the luck to be so well believed as proved; sense and experience having not well agreed with reason and speculation; or whether the scheme has not been pursued so far as to draw it into practice; or whether it be too fine to be capable of it, like some propositions in the mathematics, how true and demonstrative soever, I will not pretend to determine.

These great changes or revolutions in the physical empire, have given ground to many attacks that have been made against it, upon the score of its uncertainty, by several wise and learned men, as well as by many ignorant and malicious. Montaigne has written a great deal, and very ingeniously, upon this point; and some sharp Italians: and many physicians are too free upon the subject, in the conversation of their friends. But, as the noble Athenian inscription told Demetrius, that he was in so much a god, as he acknowledged himself to be a man; so we may say of physicians, that they are the greater, in so much as they know and confess the weakness of their art. It is certain, however, that the study of physic is not atchieved in any eminent degree, without very great advancements in other sciences: so that, whatever the profession is, the professors have been generally very much esteemed upon that account, as well as of their own art, as the most learned men of their ages, and thereby shared with the two other great professions in those advantages most commonly valued and most eagerly pursued; whereof the divines seem to have had the most honour, the lawyers the most money, and the physicians the most learning.

I have known, in my time, at least five or six, that, besides their general learning, were the greatest wits in the compass of my conversation. And whatever can be said of the uncertainty of their art, or disagreement of its professors, they may, I believe, confidently undertake, that when divines arrive at certainty in their schemes of divinity, or lawyers in those of law, or politicians in those of civil government, the physicians will do it likewise in the methods and practice of physic; and have the honour of finding out the universal medicine, at least as soon as the chymists shall the philosopher's stone.

The great defects in this excellent science seem to me chiefly to have proceeded from the professors application (especially since Galen's time) running so much upon method, and so little upon medicine; and in this to have addicted themselves so much to composition, and neglected too much the use of simples, as well as the inquiries and records of specific remedies.

Upon this occasion, I have sometimes wondered why a registry has not been kept in the colleges of physicians, of all such as have been invented by any professors of every age, found out by study or by chance, learned by inquiry, and approved by their practice and experience. This would supply the want of skill and study: arts would be improved by the experience of many ages, and derived by the succession of ancestors. As many professions are tied to certain races in several nations, so this of physic has been in some, by which parents were induced to the cares of improving and augmenting their knowledge, as others do their estates; because they were to descend to their posterity, and not die with themselves, as learning does in vulgar hands. How many methods as well as remedies are lost for want of this custom in the course of ages! and which perhaps were of greater effect,

and of more common benefit, than those that, succeeding in their places, have worn out the memory of the former, either by chance or negligence, or different humours of persons and times.

Among the Romans there were four things much in use, whereof some are so far out of practice in ours, and other late ages, as to be hardly known any more than by their names; these were bathing, fumigation, friction, and jactation. The first, though not wholly disused among us, yet is turned out of the service of health to that of pleasure; but may be of excellent effect in both. It not only opens the pores, provokes sweat, and thereby allays heat; supples the joints and sinews; unwearies and refreshes more than any thing, after too great labour and exercise; but is of great effect in some acute pains, as of the stone and cholic; and disposes to sleep, when many other remedies fail. Nor is it improbable, that all good effects of any natural baths may be imitated by the artificial, if composed with care and skill of able naturalists or physicians.

Fumigation, or the use of scents, is not, that I know, at all practised in our modern physic, nor the power and virtue of them considered among us; yet they may have as much to do good, for aught I know, as to do harm, and contribute to health as well as to diseases; which is too much felt by experience in all that are infectious, and by the operations of some poisons that are received only by the smell. How reviving as well as pleasing some scents of herbs or flowers are, is obvious to all: how great virtues they may have in diseases, especially of the head, is known to few, but may be easily conjectured by any thinking man. What is recorded of Democritus, is worth remarking upon this subject; that being spent with age, and just at the point of death, and his sister bewailing that he

should not live till the feast of Ceres, which was to be kept three or four days after; he called for loaves of new bread to be brought him, and with the steam of them under his nose prolonged his life till the feast was past, and then died. Whether a man may live some time, or how long, by the steam of meat, I cannot tell; but the justice was great, if not the truth, in that story of a cook, who observing a man to use it often in his shop, and asking money, because he confessed to save his dinner by it, was adjudged to be paid by the chinking of his coin. I remember, that walking in a long gallery of the Indian house at Amsterdam, where vast quantities of mace, cloves, and nutmegs, were kept in great open chests ranged all along one side of the room, I found something so reviving by the perfumed air, that I took notice of it to the company with me, which was a great deal, and they all were sensible of the same effect: which is enough to shew the power of smells, and their operations both upon health and humour.

Friction is of great and excellent use, and of very general practice in the eastern countries, especially after their frequent bathings; it opens the pores, and is the best way of all forced perspiration; is very proper and effectual in all swellings and pains of the joints, or others in the flesh, which are not to be drawn to a head and break. It is a saying among the Indians, that none can be much troubled with the gout who have slaves enough to rub them; and is the best natural account of some stories I have heard of persons who were said to cure several diseases by stroking.

Jactations were used for some amusement and allay in great and constant pains, and to relieve that intranquillity which attends most diseases, and makes men often impatient of lying still in their beds. Besides, they help or occasion sleep, as we

find by the common use and experience of rocking froward children in cradles, or dandling them in their nurses arms. I remember an old Prince Maurice of Nassau, who had been accustomed to hammocks in Brazil, and used them frequently all his life after, upon the pains he suffered by the stone or gout; and thought he found ease, and was allured to sleep by the constant motion or swinging of those airy beds, which was assisted by a servant, if they moved too little by the springs upon which they hung.

In Egypt of old, and at this time in Barbary, the general method of cures in most diseases, is by burning with a hot iron; so as the bodies of their slaves are found often to have many scars upon them remaining of those operations. But this, and other uses and effects of fire, I have taken notice enough of, in an Essay upon the Indian Cure by Moxa in the Gout.

The ancient native Irish, and the Americans at the time of the first European discoveries and conquests there, knew nothing of physic beyond the virtues of herbs and plants. And in this, the most polished nation agrees in a great measure with those that were esteemed most barbarous; and where the learning and voluptuousness are as great as were the native simplicity and ignorance of the others. For in China, though their physicians are admirable in the knowledge of the pulse, and by that, in discovering the causes of all inward diseases, yet their practice extends little further in the cures beyond the methods of diet, and the virtues of herbs and plants either inwardly taken or outwardly applied.

In the course of my life, I have often pleased or entertained myself with observing the various and fantastical changes of the diseases generally complained of, and of the remedies in common vogue,

which were like birds of passage, very much seen or heard of at one season, and disappeared at another, and commonly succeeded by some of a very different kind. When I was very young, nothing was so much feared or talked of as rickets among children, and consumptions among young people of both sexes. After these the spleen came in play, and grew a formal disease: then the scurvy, which was the general complaint, and both were thought to appear in many various guises. After these, and for a time, nothing was so much talked of as the ferment of the blood, which passed for the cause of all sorts of ailments, that neither physicians nor patients knew well what to make of. And to all these succeeded vapours, which serve the same turn, and furnish occasion of complaint among persons whose bodies or minds ail something, but they know not what; and among the Chineses, would pass for mists of the mind or fumes of the brain, rather than indispositions of any other parts. Yet these employ our physicians perhaps more than other diseases, who are fain to humour such patients in their fancies of being ill, and to prescribe some remedies, for fear of losing their practice to others that pretend more skill in finding out the cause of diseases, or care in advising remedies, which neither they nor their patients find any effect of, besides some gains to one, and amusement to the other. This, I suppose, may have contributed much to the mode of going to the waters either cold or hot, upon so many occasions, or else upon none besides that of entertainment, and which commonly may have no other effect. And it is well if this be the worst of the frequent use of those waters, which, though commonly innocent, yet are sometimes dangerous, if the temper of the person or cause of the indisposition be unhappily mistaken, especially in people of age.

As diseases have changed vogue, so have remedies, in my time and observation. I remember at one time the taking of tobacco, at another the drinking of warm beer, proved for universal remedies; then swallowing of pebble-stones, in imitation of falconers curing hawks. One doctor pretended to help all heats and fevers, by drinking as much cold spring water as the patient could bear; at another time, swallowing up a spoonful of powder of sea-biscuit after meals, was infallible for all indigestion, and so preventing diseases: then coffee and tea began their successive reigns. The infusion of powder of steel have had their turns, and certain drops, of several names and compositions: but none that I find have established their authority, either long or generally, by any constant and sensible successes of their reign, but have rather passed like a mode, which every one is apt to follow, and finds the most convenient or graceful while it lasts; and begins to dislike in both those respects when it goes out of fashion.

Thus men are apt to play with their healths and their lives, as they do with their cloaths; which may be the better excused, since both are so transitory, so subject to be spoiled with common use, to be torn by accidents, and at best to be so soon worn out. Yet the usual practice of physic among us runs still the same course, and turns, in a manner, wholly upon evacuation, either by bleeding, vomits, or some sorts of purgation; though it be not often agreed among physicians in what cases or what degrees any of these are necessary; nor among other men, whether any of them are necessary or no. Montaigne questions whether purging ever be so, and from many ingenious reasons: the Chineses never let blood; and, for the other, it is very probable that nature knows her own wants and times so well, and so easily finds her own relief

that way, as to need little assistance, and not well to receive the common violences that are offered her. I remember three in my life and observation who were as downright killed with vomits, as they could have been with daggers; and I can say for myself, upon an accident very near mortal, when I was young, that, sending for the two best physicians of the town, the first prescribed me a vomit, and immediately sent it me: I had the grace or sense to refuse it till the other came, who told me, if I had taken it, I could not have lived half an hour. I observed a consult of physicians, in a fever of one of my near friends, perplexed to the last degree whether to let him blood or no, and not able to resolve, till the course of the disease had declared itself, and thereby determined them. Another of my friends was so often let blood, by his first physician, that a second who was sent for, questioned whether he would recover it: the first persisted the blood must be drawn till some good appeared; the other affirmed, that in such diseases, the whole mass was corrupted, but would purify again when the accident was past, like wine after a fermentation, which makes all in the vessel thick and foul for a season; but, when that is past, grows clear again of itself. So much is certain, that it depends a great deal upon the temper of the patient, the nature of the disease in its first causes, upon the skill and care of the physician to decide whether any of these violences upon nature are necessary or no, and whether they are like to do good or harm.

The rest of our common practice consists in various compositions of innocent ingredients, which feed the hopes of the patient, and the apothecary's gains, but leave nature to her course, who is the sovereign physician in most diseases, and leaves little for others to do, further than to watch acci-

dents; where they know no specific remedies, to prescribe diets; and, above all, to prevent disorders from the stomach, and take care that nature be not employed in the kitchen, when she should be in the field to resist her enemy; and that she should not be weakened in her spirits and strength, when they are most necessary to support and relieve her. It is true, physicians must be in danger of losing their credit with the vulgar, if they should often tell a patient he has no need of physic, and prescribe only rules of diet or common use; most people would think they had lost their fee: but the excellence of a physician's skill and care is discovered by resolving first whether it be best in the case to administer any physic or none, to trust to nature or to art; and the next, to give such prescriptions, as, if they do no good, may be sure to do no harm.

In the midst of such uncertainties of health and of physic, for my own part I have, in the general course of my life, and of many acute diseases, as well as some habitual, trusted to God Almighty, to nature, to temperance or abstinence, and the use of common remedies, either vulgarly known, and approved like proverbs by long observation and experience, either of my own, or such persons as have fallen in the way of my observation or inquiry.

Among the plants of our soil and climate, those I esteem of greatest virtue and most friendly to health, are sage, rue, saffron, alehoof, garlic, and elder. Sage deserves not only the just reputation it has been always in of a very wholesome herb, in common uses, and generally known, but is admirable in consumptive coughs, of which I have cured some very desperate, by a draught every morning of spring water, with a handful of sage boiled in it, and continued for a month. I do not question that, if it were used as tea, it would have

at least in all kinds as good an effect upon health, if not of so much entertainment to the taste, being perhaps not so agreeable; and I had reason to believe when I was in Holland that vast quantities of sage were carried to the Indies yearly, as well as of tea brought over from those countries into ours.

Rue is of excellent use for all illnesses of the stomach, that proceed from cold or moist humours; a great digester and restorer of appetite; dispels wind, helps perspiration, drives out ill humours, and thereby comes to be so much prescribed, and so commonly used in pestilential airs, and upon apprehensions of any contagion. The only ill of it lies in the too much or too frequent use, which may lessen and impair the natural heat of the stomach, by the greater heat of an herb very hot and dry; and therefore the juice made up with sugar into small pills, and swallowed only two or three at nights or mornings, and only when there is occasion, is the most innocent way of using it.

Saffron is, of all others, the safest and most simple cordial, the greatest reviver of the heart and chearer of the spirits, and cannot be of too common use in diet, any more than in medicine. The spirit of saffron is, of all others, the noblest and most innocent, and yet of the greatest virtue. I have known it restore a man out of the very agonies of death, when left by all physicians as wholly desperate. But the use of this and all spirits ought to be employed only in cases very urgent, either of decays or pains; for all spirits have the same effect with that mentioned of rue, which is, by frequent use, to destroy, and at last to extinguish the natural heat of the stomach; as the frequent drinking wine at meals does in a degree, and with time, but that of all strong waters more sensibly and more dangerously. Yet a long custom of either cannot be suddenly broken without danger too, and

must be changed with time, with lessening the proportions by degrees, with shorter first, and then with longer intermissions.

Alehoof, or groundivy is, in my opinion, of the most excellent and most general use and virtue of plants we have among us. It is allowed to be most sovereign for the eyes, admirable in frenzies, either taken inwardly or outwardly applied. Besides, if there be a specific remedy or prevention of the stone, I take it to be the constant use of alehoof-ale, whereof I have known several experiences by others, and can, I thank God, alledge my own for about ten years past. This is the plant with which all our ancestors made their common drink, when the inhabitants of this island were esteemed the longest livers of any in the known world; and the stone is said to have first come amongst us after hops were introduced here, and the staleness of beer brought into custom by preserving it long. It is known enough, how much this plant has been decried, how generally soever it has been received in these maritime northern parts; and the chief reason, which I believe gave it vogue at first, was the preserving beer upon long sea-voyages: but for common health, I am apt to think the use of heath or broom had been of much more advantage, though none yet invented of so great and general as that of alehoof, which is certainly the greatest cleanser of any plant known among us; and which in old English signified that which was necessary to the making of ale, the common or rather universal drink heretofore of our nation.

Garlic has of all our plants the greatest strength, affords most nourishment, and supplies most spirits to those who eat little flesh, as the poorer people seldom do in the hotter, and especially the more eastern climates: so that the labour of the world

seems to be performed by the force and virtue of garlic, leeks, and onions, no other food of herbs or plants yielding strength enough for much labour. Garlic is of great virtue in all colics, a great strengthener of the stomach upon decays of appetite or indigestion, and I believe is (if at least there be any such) a specific remedy of the gout. I have known great testimonies of this kind within my acquaintance, and have never used it myself upon this occasion, without an opinion of some success or advantage. But I could never long enough bear the constraint of a diet I found not very agreeable myself, and at least fancied offensive to the company I conversed with.

Besides, this disease is to me so hereditary, and come into my veins from so many ancestors, that I have reason to despair of any cure but the last, and content myself to fence against it by temperance and patience, without hopes of conquering such an inveterate enemy. Therefore I leave the use of garlic to such as are inveigled into the gout by the pleasure of too much drinking, the ill effects whereof are not more relieved by any other diet than by this plant, which is so great a drier and opener, especially by perspiration. Nor is it less used in many parts abroad as physic than as food. In several provinces of France it is usual to fall into a diet of garlic for a fortnight or three weeks, upon the first fresh butter of the spring; and the common people esteem it a preservative against the diseases of the ensuing year; and a broth of garlic or onions is so generally used the next day after a debauch as to be called *soupè à l'yvroigne*. This is enough to shew the use as well as virtues of this northern spice, which is in mighty request among the Indians themselves, in the midst of so many others, that enrich and perfume those noble regions.

Elder is of great virtue in all indispositions arising from any watery humours; and not only the flowers and berries, but even the green bark, are used with effect, and perhaps equal success in their seasons. I have been told of some great cures of the gout, by the succeeding use of all three throughout the year: but I have been always too libertine for any great and long subjections, to make the trials. The spirit of elder is sovereign in cholics; and the use of it, in general, very beneficial in scurvies and dropsies: though, in the last, I esteem broom yet of more virtue, either brewed in common drink, or the ashes taken in white wine every morning: which may perhaps pass for a specific remedy; whereof we may justly complain, that, after so long experience of so learned a profession as physic, we yet know so very few.

That which has passed of latter years; for the most allowed in this kind, has been the quinquina, or Jesuits powder, in fevers, but especially agues. I can say nothing of it upon any experience of my own, nor many within my knowledge. I remember its entrance upon our stage with some disadvantage, and the repute of leaving no cures, without danger of worse returns. But the credit of it seems now to be established by common use and prescription, and to be improved by new and singular preparations; whereof I have very good and particular reasons to affirm, that they are all amusements; and, that what virtue there is in this remedy, lies in the naked simple itself, as it comes over from the Indies, and in the choice of that which is least dried, or perished by the voyage.

The next specific I esteem to be that little insect called millepedes: the powder whereof, made up into little balls with fresh butter, I never knew fail of curing any sore throat: it must lie at the root of the tongue, and melt down at leisure upon

going to bed. I have been assured that Doctor Mayerne used it as a certain cure for all cancers in the breast; and should be very tedious if I should tell here, how much the use of it has been extolled by several within my knowledge, upon the admirable effects for the eyes, the scurvy, and the gout; but there needs no more to value it, than what the ancient physicians affirm of it in those three words:

Digerit,	*Aperit,*	*Abstergit.*
It digests,	It opens,	It cleanses.

For rheums in the eyes and the head, I take a leaf of tobacco put into the nostrils for an hour each morning, to be a specific medicine: or betony, if the other be too strong or offensive. The effect of both is to draw rheums off the head, through their proper and natural channel. And old Prince Maurice of Nassau told me, he had by this preserved his eyes, to so great an age, after the danger of losing them at thirty years old; and I have ever since used it with the same success, after great reasons near that age to apprehend the loss or decays of mine.

In times and places of great contagion, the strongest preservative yet known, is a piece of myrrh held in the mouth, when or where, the danger is most apprehended; which I have both practised and taught many others with success, in several places where cruel plagues have raged: though in such cases, after all, the best and safest is to run away as soon as one can. Yet, upon this occasion, I think myrrh may pass for a specific in prevention; and may, for ought I know, be of use in remedies, as the greatest enemy of corruption; which is known by the use of embalmings in the East.

For all illnesses of stomach, or indigestions, pro-

ceeding from hot and sharp humours; to which my whole family has been much subject, as well as very many of my acquaintance; and for which, powder of crabs-eyes and claws and burnt egg-shells are often prescribed as sweeteners of any sharp humours: I have never found any thing of much or certain effect, besides the eating of strawberries, common cherries, white figs, soft peaches, or grapes, before every meal, during their seasons; and when those are past, apples after meals; but all must be very ripe. And this, by my own and all my friends' experience who have tried it, I reckon for a specific medicine in this illness, so frequently complained of: at least, for the two first I never knew them fail; and the usual quantity is about forty cherries, without swallowing either skin or stone. I observe this the rather, because the recourse commonly made in this case to strong waters I esteem very pernicious, and which inevitably destroys the stomach with frequent use. The best, at least most innocent of all distilled liquors, is milk-water, made with balm, carduus, mint, and wormwood; which has many good effects in illnesses of the stomach, and none ill. The best and safest strong water, if any be so, for common use, I esteem to be that made of juniper berries, especially in accidents of stone and colic.

Of all cordials, I esteem my Lady Kent's powder the best, the most innocent, and the most universal; though the common practice of physic abounds in nothing more, and the virtue seems to be little else, besides an allusion of the name to the heart.

Upon the gout I have writ what I had known or practised, in an essay of Moxa; and upon the spleen, what I had observed, in a chapter upon the dispositions of the people in the Netherlands. I shall only add, for the help of my fellow-sufferers in the

first, that, besides what is contained in that former essay, and since those pains have grown more diffused, and less fixed in one point, so as to be burned with moxa, which never failed of giving me present ease, I have found the most benefit from three methods. The first is, that of moving the joint where the pain begins as long as I am able in my bed; which I have often done, and counted five or six hundred times or more, till I found first a great heat, and then perspiration, in the part; the heat spends or disperses the humour within, and the perspiration drives it out; and I have escaped many threats of ill fits by these motions: if they go on, the only poultice or plaister I have dealt with, is wool from the belly of a fat sheep, which has often given me ease in a very little time. If the pains grow sharp, and the swellings so diffused, as not to be burned with moxa, the best remedy I have found, is from a piece of scarlet dipped in scalding brandy, laid upon the afflicted part, and the heat often renewed, by dropping it upon the scarlet as hot as can be endured. And from this I have often found the same success as from moxa, and without breaking the skin, or leaving any sore.

To what I have said in another place of the spleen, I shall only add here, that whatever the spleen is, whether a disease of the part so called, or of people that ail something, but they know not what; it is certainly a very ill ingredient into any other disease, and very often dangerous. For, as hope is the sovereign balsam of life, and the best cordial in all distempers both of body or mind; so fear, and regret, and melancholy apprehensions, which are the usual effects of the spleen, with the distractions, disquiets, or at least intranquillity they occasion, are the worst accidents that can attend any diseases; and make them often mortal, which would otherwise pass, and have had but a common course.

I have known the most busy ministers of state, most fortunate courtiers, most vigorous youths, most beautiful virgins, in the strength or flower of their age, sink under common distempers, by the force of such weights, and the cruel damps and disturbances thereby given their spirits and their blood. It is no matter what is made the occasion, if well improved by spleen and melancholy apprehensions: a disappointed hope, a blot of honour, a strain of conscience, an unfortunate love, an aking jealousy, a repining grief, will serve the turn, and all alike.

I remember an ingenious physician, who told me, in the fanatic times, he found most of his patients so disturbed by troubles of conscience, that he was forced to play the divine with them, before he could begin the physician; whose greatest skill perhaps often lies in the infusing of hopes, and inducing some composure and tranquillity of mind, before they enter upon the other operations of their art: and this ought to be the first endeavour of the patient too; without which, all other medicines may lose their virtue.

The two great blessings of life are, in my opinion, health and good humour; and none contribute more to one another: without health, all will allow life to be but a burden, and the several conditions of fortune to be all wearisome, dull, or disagreeable, without good humour; nor does any seem to contribute towards the true happiness of life, but as it serves to increase that treasure or to preserve it. Whatever other differences are commonly apprehended in the several conditions of fortune, none perhaps will be found so true or so great, as what is made by those two circumstances, so little regarded in the common course or pursuits of mortal men.

Whether long life be a blessing or no, God Al-

mighty only can determine, who alone knows what length it is like to run, and how it is like to be attended. Socrates used to say, that it was pleasant to grow old with good health and a good friend; and he might have reason. A man may be content to live while he is no trouble to himself or his friends; but, after that, it is hard if he be not content to die. I knew and esteemed a person abroad, who used to say, a man must be a mean wretch that desired to live after threescore years old. But so much, I doubt, is certain, that in life, as in wine, he that will drink it good, must not draw it to dregs.

Where this happens, one comfort of age may be, that whereas younger men are usually in pain when they are not in pleasure, old men find a sort of pleasure whenever they are out of pain. And, as young men often lose or impair their present enjoyments by raving after what is to come, by vain hopes, or fruitless fears; so old men relieve the wants of their age, by pleasing reflections upon what is past. Therefore men in the health and vigour of their age, should endeavour to fill their lives with reading, with travel, with the best conversation, and the worthiest actions, either in their public or private stations; that they may have something agreeable left to feed on when they are old, by pleasing remembrances.

But, as they are only the clean beasts which chew the cud, when they have fed enough; so they must be clean and virtuous men, that can reflect with pleasure upon the past accidents or courses of their lives. Besides, men who grow old with good sense, or good fortunes, and good nature, cannot want the pleasure of pleasing others, by assisting with their gifts, their credit, and their advice, such as deserve it; as well as their care of children, kindness to friends, and bounty to servants.

But there cannot indeed live a more unhappy creature than an ill-natured old man, who is neither capable of receiving pleasures, nor sensible of doing them to others; and, in such a condition, it is time to leave them.

Thus have I traced, in this essay, whatever has fallen in my way or thoughts to observe concerning life and health, and which I conceived might be of any public use to be known or considered: the plainness wherewith it is written, easily shews there could be no other intention; and it may at least pass like a Derbyshire charm, which is used among sick cattle, with these words, If it does thee no good, it will do thee no harm.

To sum up all, the first principle of health and long life, is derived from the strength of our race or our birth; which gave occasion to that saying, *Gaudeant bene nati*, Let them rejoice that are happily born. Accidents are not in our power to govern; so that the best cares or provisions for life and health, that are left us, consist in the discreet and temperate government of diet and exercise: in both which all excess is to be avoided, especially in the common use of wine, whereof the first glass may pass for health, the second for good humour, the third for our friends, but the fourth is for our enemies.

For temperance in other kinds, or in general, I have given its character and virtues in the essay of Moxa, so as to need no more upon that subject here.

When, in default or despite of all these cares, or by effect of ill airs and seasons, acute or strong diseases may arise, recourse must be had to the best physicians that are in reach, whose success will depend upon thought and care, as much as skill. In all diseases of body or mind, it is happy to have an

able physician for a friend, or discreet friend for a physician; which is so great a blessing, that the wise man will have it to proceed only from God, where he says, "A faithful friend is the medicine of life, and he that fears the Lord shall find him."

OF HEROIC VIRTUE.

AMONG all the endowments of nature, or improvements of art, wherein men have excelled and distinguished themselves most in the world, there are two only that have had the honour of being called divine, and of giving that esteem or appellation to such as possessed them in very eminent degrees, which are Heroic Virtue, and Poetry: for prophecy cannot be esteemed any excellency of nature or of art, but where-ever it is true, is an immediate gift of God, and bestowed according to his pleasure, and upon subjects of the meanest capacity; upon women or children, or even things inanimate; as the stones placed in the High Priest's breast-plate, which were a sacred oracle among the Jews.

I will leave poetry to an essay by itself, and dedicate this only to that antiquated shrine of heroic virtue, which, however forgotten or unknown in latter ages, must yet be allowed to have produced in the world the advantages most valued among men, and which most distinguish their understandings, and their lives, from the rest of their fellow-creatures.

Though it be easier to describe heroic virtue by the effects and examples than by causes or definitions, yet it may be said to arise from some great and native excellency of temper or genius, transcending the common race of mankind in wisdom, goodness, and fortitude. These ingredients, advantaged by birth, improved by education, and as-

sisted by fortune, seem to make that noble composition, which gives such a lustre to those who have possessed it, as made them appear to common eyes something more than mortals, and to have been born of some mixture between divine and human race; to have been honoured and obeyed in their lives, and after their deaths bewailed and adored.

The greatness of their wisdom appeared in the excellency of their inventions; and these, by the goodness of their nature, were turned and exercised upon such subjects as were of general good to mankind in the common uses of life, or to their own countries in the institutions of such laws, orders, or governments, as were of most ease, safety, and advantage to civil society. Their valour was employed in defending their own countries from the violence of ill men at home, or enemies abroad; in reducing their barbarous neighbours to the same forms and orders of civil lives and institutions; or in relieving others from the cruelties and oppressions of tyranny and violence.

These are all comprehended in three verses of Virgil, describing the blessed seats in Elysium, and those that enjoyed them:

> Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi,
> Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
> Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.
>
> Here such as for their country wounds receiv'd,
> Or who by arts invented life improv'd,
> Or by deserving, made themselves remember'd.

And, indeed, the character of heroic virtue seems to be, in short, the deserving well of mankind. Where this is chief in design, and great in success, the pretence to a hero lies very fair, and can never be allowed without it.

I have said, that this excellency of genius must be native, because it can never grow to any great

height, if it be only acquired or affected; but it must be ennobled by birth, to give it more lustre, esteem, and authority: it must be cultivated by education and instruction, to improve its growth, and direct its end and application; and it must be assisted by fortune, to preserve it to maturity; because the noblest spirit or genius in the world, if it falls, though never so bravely, in its first enterprises, cannot deserve enough of mankind to pretend to so great a reward as the esteem of heroic virtue. And yet, perhaps, many a person has died in the first battle or adventure he atchieved, and lies buried in silence and oblivion, who, had he outlived as many dangers as Alexander did, might have shined as bright in honour and fame. Now since so many stars go to the making up of this constellation, it is no wonder it has so seldom appeared in the world; nor that, when it does, it is received and followed with so much gazing, and so much veneration.

Among the simpler ages or generations of men, in several countries, those who were the first inventors of arts generally received and applauded as most necessary or useful to human life, were honoured alive; and, after death, worshiped as gods. And so were those who had been the first authors of any good and well instituted civil government in any country, by which the native inhabitants were reduced from savage and brutish lives to the safety and convenience of societies, the enjoyment of property, the observance of orders, and the obedience of laws; which were followed by security, plenty, civility, riches, industry, and all kinds of arts. The evident advantages and common benefits of these sorts of institutions, made people generally inclined at home to obey such governors, the neighbour nations to esteem them, and thereby willingly enter into their protection, or easily yield to the

force of their arms and prowess. Thus conquests began to be made in the world, and upon the same designs of reducing barbarous nations unto civil and well-regulated constitutions and governments, and of subduing those by force to obey them, who refused to accept willingly the advantages of life or condition that were thereby offered them. Such persons of old, who, excelling in those virtues, were attended by these fortunes, and made great and famous conquests, and left them under good constitutions of laws and governments; or who instituted excellent and lasting orders and frames of any political state, in what compass soever of country, or under what name soever of civil government, were obeyed as Princes or Lawgivers in their own times, and were called, in after-ages, by the name of heroes.

From these sources, I believe, may be deduced all or most of the theology or idolatry of all the ancient Pagan countries, within the compass of the four great empires, so much renowned in story, and perhaps of some others, as great in their constitutions, and as extended in their conquests, though not so much celebrated or observed by learned men.

From all I can gather upon the surveys of ancient story, I am apt to conclude, that Saturn was a King of Crete, and expelled that kingdom by his son. That Jupiter, having driven out his father from Crete, conquered Greece, or at least the Peloponnesus; and having, among those inhabitants, introduced the use of agriculture, of property and civility, and established a just and regular kingdom, was, by them, adored as chief of their Gods.

Ante Jovem nulli subigebant arva coloni.

That his brother, sisters, sons and daughters, were worshiped likewise, for the inventions of things

chiefly useful, necessary, or agreeable to human life. So Neptune, for the art or improvement of navigation; Vulcan, for that of forging brass and iron; Minerva, of spinning; Apollo, of musie, and poetry; Mercury, of manual arts and merchandise; Bacchus, for the invention of wine; and Ceres, of corn.

I do not find any traces left by which a probable conjecture may be made of the age, wherein this race of Saturn flourished in the world; nor, consequently, what length of time they were adored; for as to Bacchus and Hercules, it is generally agreed, that there were more than one or two of those names, in very different times, and perhaps countries, as Greece and Egypt; and that the last, who was son of Alcmena, and one of the Argonauts, was very modern in respect of the other more ancient, who was contemporary with the race of Jupiter. But the story of that Bacchus and Hercules, who are said to have conquered India, is grown too obscure, by the dark shades of so great antiquity, or disguised by the mask of fables and fiction of poets.

The same divine honours were rendered by the Egyptians to Osyris; in whose temple was inscribed on a pillar, that he had gone through all countries, and every where taught men all that he found necessary for the common good of mankind; by the Assyrians to Belus, the founder of that kingdom, and great inventor or improver of astronomy among the Chaldeans; by the original Latins or Hetruscans, to Janus, who introduced agriculture into Italy; and these three were worshiped as Gods by those ancient and learned nations.

Ninus and Sesostris were renowned for their mighty conquest, and esteemed the two great heroes of Assyria and of Egypt; the first having extended his victories to the river Indus, and the

other those of the Egyptians over Asia, as far as Pontus. The time of Ninus is controverted among historians, being by some placed thirteen, by others eight hundred years before Sardanapalus: but that of Sesostris is, in my opinion, much harder to be affirmed. For I do not see how their opinion can be allowed, who make him to be Sesack, that took Jerusalem in the time of Rehoboam, since no more is said in Scripture of the progress of that expedition: nor is the time of it mentioned in the Grecian story, though some records are there found, of all that passed after the Trojan war, and with distinction enough. But the most ancient among them speak of the reign of Sesostris, and his mighty conquests, as very ancient then, and agree the kingdom of Colchis to have descended to a colony there established by this famous King, as a monument how far northward his victories had extended. Now this kingdom flourished in the time of the Argonauts, and excelled in those arts of magic and enchantments, which they were thought to have brought with them out of Egypt; so as I think the story of this King must be reckoned as almost covered with the ruins of time.

The two next heroes, that enter the scene, are the Theban Hercules and Theseus, both renowned among the Greeks, for freeing their country from fierce wild beasts, or from fiercer and wilder men that infested them; from robbers and spoilers, or from cruel and lawless tyrants. Theseus was besides honoured as founder of the more civil state or kingdom of Athens, which city first began to flourish and grow great by his institutions, though his father had been King of the scattered villages or inhabitants of Attica.

In the same age flourished Minos King of Crete, reputed to be son of Jupiter; who by the force and number of his fleets, became Lord of the Egean

islands, and most of the coasts of Greece, and was renowned as a hero, for the justness of his laws, and the greatness of his reign.

For the heroes, in the time of the Trojan wars, so much celebrated in those two charming poems, which from them were called heroical, though it is easy to take their characters from those admirable pictures drawn of them by Homer and Virgil, yet it is hard to find them in the relations of any authentic story. That which may be observed is, that all the conduct and courage of Hector were employed in the defence of his country and his father against a foreign invasion: the valour of Achilles was exercised in the common cause, wherein his whole nation was engaged upon the fatal revenge of the rape of Helen, though he had been assured by certain prophecies, that he should die before the walls of Troy; and Æneas, having employed his utmost prowess in defence of his country, saved his father and the Trojan Gods, gathered up the remainders of his ruined country, sailed to Italy, and there founded a kingdom, which gave rise to the greatest empire of the world.

About two hundred and fifty years after these, Lycurgus instituted the Spartan State, upon laws and orders so different from those usual in those times and countries, that more than human authority seemed necessary to establish them; and the Pythian Priestess told him, she did not know whether she should call him a God or a man. And indeed no civil or politic constitutions have been more celebrated than his, by the best authors of ancient story and times.

The next heroes we meet with upon record, were Romulus and Numa, of which the first founded the Roman city and State, and the other polished the civil and religious orders of both in such a degree, that the original institutions of these

two lawgivers continued as long as that glorious State.

The next hero that came upon the stage was Cyrus, who freed his country from their servitude to the Medes, erected the Persian empire upon the ruins of the Assyrian; adorned it with excellent constitutions and laws, and extended it westward by the conquest of all the lesser Asia and Lydia, to the very coasts of the Ægean sea. Whether the picture of Cyrus, drawn by Xenophon, be after the life, or only imaginary, we may find in it the truest character that can be given of heroic virtue: and it is certain, his memory was always celebrated among the Persians, though not prosecuted by divine honours, because that nation adored one Supreme God, without any representation or idol; and in the next place the sun, to whom alone they offered sacrifices.

Alexander was the next renowned in story, having founded the Grecian monarchy, by the entire conquest of the Persian, and extended it by the addition of Greece and Macedon. But he attained not the esteem or appellation of an hero, though he affected and courted it by his mother's stories of his birth, and by the flatteries of the Priest and oracle of Jupiter Ammon. His pretence was justly excluded by his intemperance in wine, in anger, and in lust; and more yet by his cruelties and his pride: for true honour has something in it so humourous, as to follow commonly those who avoid and neglect it, rather than those who seek and pursue it. Besides, he instituted no orders or frame of government in the kingdoms either of Macedon or Persia, but rather corrupted and disordered those he found; and seems to have owed the successes of his enterprises to the counsels and conduct of his father's old officers: after whose disgrace and fall immediately succeeded that of his

fortune and his life. Yet he must be allowed to have much contributed to his own glory and fame by a great native genius and unlimited bounty, and by the greatest boldness of enterprise, scorn of danger, and fearlessness of death, that could be in any mortal man. He was a prodigy of valour and of fortune; but, whether his virtues or his faults were greatest, is hard to be decided.

Cæsar, who is commonly esteemed to have been founder of the Roman empire, seems to have possessed very eminently all the qualities, both native and acquired, that enter into the composition of a hero; but failed of the attribute of honour, because he overthrew the laws of his own country and orders of his state, and raised his greatness by the conquest of his fellow-citizens more than of their enemies; and after he came to the empire, lived not to perfect the frame of such a government, or atchieve such conquests, as he seems to have had in design.

These four great monarchies, with the smaller kingdoms, principalities, and states, that were swallowed up by their conquests and extent, make the subject of what is called ancient story; and are so excellently related by the many Greek and Latin authors still extant and in common vogue, so commented, enlarged, reduced into order of time and place, by many more of the modern writers, that they are known to all men who profess to study or entertain themselves with reading. The orders and institutions of these several governments, their progress and duration, their successes or decays, their events and revolutions, make the common themes of schools and colleges, the study of learned and the conversation of idle men, the arguments of histories, poems, and romances. From the actions and fortunes of those princes and lawgivers, are drawn the common examples of virtue and ho-

nour, the reproaches of vice, which are illustrated by the felicities or misfortunes that attend them. From the events and revolutions of these governments are drawn the usual instructions of Princes and Statesmen, and the discourses and reflections of the greatest wits and writers upon the politics. From the orders and institutions, the laws and customs of these empires and states, the sages of law and of justice, in all countries, endeavour to deduce the very common laws of nature and of nations, as well as the particular civil or municipal of kingdoms and provinces. From these they draw their arguments and precedents in all disputes concerning the pretended excellencies or defaults of the several sorts of governments that are extolled or decried, accused or defended; concerning the rights of war and peace, of invasion and defence between Sovereign Princes, as well as of authority and obedience, of prerogative and liberty, in civil contentions.

Yet the stage of all these empires, and revolutions of all these heroic actions, and these famous constitutions (how great or how wise soever any of them are esteemed), is but a limited compass of earth, that leaves out many vast regions of the world, the which, though accounted barbarous, and little taken notice of in story, or by any celebrated authors, yet have a right to come in for their voice, in agreeing upon the laws of nature and nations (for aught I know) as well as the rest, that have arrogated it wholly to themselves; and besides, in my opinion, there are some of them that, upon enquiry, will be found to have equalled or exceeded all the others, in the wisdom of their constitutions, the extent of their conquests, and the duration of their empires or states.

The famous scene of the four great monarchies was that midland part of the world, which was

bounded on the east by the river Indus, and on the west by the Atlantic ocean; on the north by the river Oxus, the Caspian and the Euxine seas, and the Danube; on the south by the mountain Atlas, Ethiopia, Arabia, and from thence to the mouth of Indus, by the southern ocean.

It is true, that Semiramis and Alexander are said to have conquered India; but the first seems only to have subdued some parts of it that lie upon the borders of that river, and Alexander's atchievements there seem rather like a journey than a conquest; and though he pierced through the country from Indus to Ganges, yet he left even undiscovered the greatest parts of that mighty region, which by the ancients was reported to contain an hundred and eighteen great and populous nations, and which, for aught I know, were never conquered but by the Tartars.

I reckon neither Scythia nor Arabia for parts of that ancient scene of action and story; for, though Cyrus and Darius entered the first, yet they soon left it, one with loss of his honour, and the other of his life. And for Arabia, I neither find it was ever conquered, or indeed well discovered or surveyed; nor much more known, than by the commerce of their spices and perfumes. I mean that part of it which is called Arabia Felix, and is environed on three sides by the sea; for the northern skirts, that join to Syria, have entered into the conquests or commerce of the four great empires; but that which seems to have secured the other, is the stony and sandy desarts, through which no armies can pass for want of water.

Now, if we consider the map of the world, as it lies at present before us, since the discoveries made by the navigations of these three last centuries, we shall easily find what vast regions there are which have been left out of that ancient scene on all sides:

and though, passing for barbarous, they have not been esteemed worth the pens of any good authors, and are known only by common and poor relations of traders, seamen, or travellers; yet, by all I have read, I am inclined to believe that some of these out-lying parts of the world, however unknown by the ancients, and overlooked by the modern learned, may yet have afforded as much matter of action and speculation, as the other scene so much celebrated in story. I mean not only in their vast extent, and variety of soils and climates, with their natural productions, but even in the excellent constitutions of laws and customs, the wise and lasting foundations of states and empires, and the mighty flights of conquests that have risen from such orders and institutions.

Now, because the first scene is such a beaten road, and this so little known or traced, I am content to take a short survey of our four great schemes of government or empire, that have sprung and grown to mighty heights, lived very long, and flourished much in these remote (and, as we will have it, more ignoble) regions of the world: whereof one is at the farthest degree of our eastern longitude, being the kingdom of China. The next is at the farthest western, which is that of Peru. The third is the outmost of our northern latitude, which is Scythia or Tartary. And the fourth is Arabia, which lies very far upon the southern.

For that vast continent of Africa, that extends between mount Atlas and the southern ocean, though it be found to swarm in people, to abound in gold, to contain many great kingdoms, and infinite smaller principalities, to be pierced by those two famous rivers of the Nile and the Niger, to produce a race of men that seem hardly of the same species with the rest of mankind; yet I cannot find any traces of that heroic virtue, that may entitle

them to any share in this essay. For whatever remains in story of Atlas, or his kingdom of old, is so obscured with age or fables, that it may go along with those of the Atlantic islands; though I know not whether these themselves were by Solon or Plato intended for fables or no, or for relations they had met with among the Egyptian Priests, and which perhaps were by them otherwise esteemed.

SECTION II.

THE great and ancient kingdom of China is bounded to the east and south by the ocean, to the north by a stone wall of twelve hundred miles long, raised against the invasion of the Tartars; and to the west, by vast and impassable mountains or desarts, which the labour or curiosity of no mortal man has been ever yet known to have pierced through, or given any account of. When Alexander would have passed the river Ganges, he was told by the Indians that nothing beyond it was inhabited, and that all was either impassable marshes, lying between great rivers, or sandy desarts, or steep mountains, full only of wild beasts, but wholly destitute of mankind: so as Ganges was esteemed by ancients the bound of the eastern world. Since the use of the compass, and extent of navigation, it is found that there are several populous kingdoms lie between Ganges and the desarts or mountains that divide them from China; as Pegu, Siam, Cirote, and others lie in this space, coasting along the borders of great rivers northwards; which are said to run about the length of Indus and Ganges, and all of them to rise from one mighty lake in the mountains of Tartary. But from none of these kingdoms is known any other way of passage or commerce into China, than by sea.

From Indostan, or the Mogul's country, there is none other usual; and such as travel from thence by land are forced to go many degrees northward before they turn to the east, to pass many savage kingdoms or countries of the Tartars, to travel through vast sandy desarts, and other prodigious high and steep mountains, where no carriage or beast is able to pass, but only men on foot; and over one mountain particularly esteemed the highest in the world; where the air is so thin, that men cannot travel over it without danger of their lives, and never in summer without being poisoned by the scent of certain herbs that grow upon it, which is mortal when they are in flower. After eight or nine months' journey from the Mogul's court, several persons have travelled this way till they came to the wall that defends or divides China from Tartary, and so to the imperial city of Peking, situate in the northern parts of this mighty region, which the Chineses call a world by itself, and esteem themselves the only reasonable and civilized people, having no neighbours on three sides, and to the north only the Tartars, whom they esteem but another sort of wild or brutish men; and therefore they say in common proverb, that the Chineses only see with two eyes, and all other men but with one.

By this situation, and by a custom or law very ancient among them, of suffering no stranger to come into their country, or if they do, not permitting him to go out, or return any more to his own, this vast continent continued very long and wholly unknown to the rest of the world; and, forasmuch as I can find, was first discovered to us by Paulus Venetus, who, about four hundred years ago, made a voyage from Venice through Armenia, Persia, and several parts of Tartary, to that which he names the kingdom of Cataya, and to the famous city of Cambalu (as he calls them), and, after seventeen

years' residence of his father and himself in that court of the great Cham, returned to Venice, and left the world a large account of this voyage.

Since his time, and within two or three hundred years, several missionary Friers and Jesuits have, upon devotion or command of their superiors, pierced with infinite pains and dangers through these vast and savage regions, some from the Mogul's country, some through Armenia and Persia, and arrived at Peking; which I make no question (by comparing all their several accounts and relations), is the same famous city that is called Cambalu by Paulus Venetus, seated in the northern provinces of China, which is by him called Cataya. The reason of this difference in names was, that, when Paulus Venetus was there, the Cham of East Tartary, called Cataya, had possessed himself, by conquest, of several northern provinces of China, as well as that of Peking, where he made his residence, and which was like the rest of his empire called Cataya, and the chief city Cambalu, by a Tartar name. After some time all these provinces were again recovered by the Chineses from the Tartars, and returned to their old Chinese appellations; and the King of China, who then expelled the Tartars, fixed the seat of his empire at Peking (which had been formerly at Nanking and Quinsay), that the force of his armies, lying thereabouts, might be ready to defend that frontier against the furious invasions of the Tartars, whereof they had several times felt the rage and danger.

After this recovery, China continued in peace and prosperous under their own Emperors, till about the year 1616, when the Tartars again invaded them; and, after a long and bloody war of above thirty years, in the end made themselves absolute masters of the whole kingdom, and so it has ever since continued.

This region, commonly known by the name of China, extends about eighteen hundred miles, or thirty degrees of northern and southern latitude. It is not esteemed so much of longitude; but this is more uncertain, the journey through the whole country from east to west having not, that I find, been ever performed by any European; and the accounts taken only from report of the natives. Nor is it easily agreed, where the habitable parts of China determine westward, since some authors say, they end in mountains, stored only with wild beasts and wild men, that have neither laws nor language, nor other commerce with the Chineses, than by descents sometimes made upon them, for rapines or for rapes: and other authors say, there are such inaccessible mountains even in the midst of China, so as the first accounts may have left out great countries beyond these mountains, which they took for the utmost border of this kingdom.

Whatever length it has, which by none is esteemed less than twelve or thirteen hundred miles; it must be allowed to be the greatest, richest, and most populous kingdom now known in the world; and will perhaps be found to owe its riches, force, civility, and felicity, to the admirable constitution of its government, more than any other.

This empire consists of fifteen several kingdoms, which at least have been so of old, though now governed as provinces, by their several Viceroys, who yet live in greatness, splendor, and riches, equal to the great and sovereign Kings. In the whole kingdom, are one hundred and forty-five capital cities, of mighty extent and magnificent building, and one thousand three hundred and twenty-one lesser cities, but all walled round; the number of villages is infinite, and no country in the known world so full of inhabitants, nor so improved by agriculture, by infinite growth of numerous commodities,

by canals of incredible length, conjunctions of rivers, convenience of ways for the transportation of all sorts of goods and commodities from one province to another, so as no country has so great trade, though till very lately they never had any but among themselves; and what there is now foreign among them is not driven by the Chineses going out of their country to manage it, but only by the permission of the Portugueses and Dutch to come and trade in some skirts of their southern provinces.

For testimonies of their greatness, I shall only add what is agreed of their famous wall, and of their city Peking. The stone wall, which divides the northern parts of China from Tartary, is reckoned by some twelve, by others nine hundred miles long, running over rocks and hills, through marshes and desarts, and making way for rivers by mighty arches. It is forty-five foot high, and twenty foot thick at the bottom, divided at certain spaces by great towers. It was built above two thousand years ago, but with such admirable architecture, that, where some gaps have not been broken down by the Tartars upon their irruptions, the rest is still as entire, as when it was first built. The King, that raised this wall, appointed a million of soldiers, who were listed and paid, for the defence of it against the Tartars, and took their turns by certain numbers at certain times, for the guard of this frontier.

The imperial city of Peking is nothing so large as several other cities of China (whereof Nanking is esteemed the greatest) but is a regular foursquare; the wall of each side is six miles in length. In each of these sides are three gates, and on each side of each gate are great palaces or forts for the guards belonging to them, which are a thousand men to each gate. The streets run quite cross with a thorough view and passage from each gate to that

which is over against it in the opposite side; and these streets are ranged full of stately houses.

The palace of the Emperor is three miles in compass, consisting of three courts, one within the other, whereof the last (where the Emperor lodges) is four hundred paces square. The other two are filled with his domestics, officers and guards, to the number of sixteen thousand persons. Without these courts, are large and delicious gardens, many artificial rocks and hills, streams of rivers drawn into several canals faced with square stone, and the whole atchieved with such admirable invention, cost, and workmanship, that nothing ancient or modern seems to come near it; and all served with such magnificence, order, and splendor, that the audience of a foreign Ambassador, at Peking, seems a sight as great and noble, as one of the triumphs at Rome.

As other nations are usually distinguished into Noble and Plebeian, so that of China may be distinguished into Learned and Illiterate. The last makes up the body and mass of the people who are governed; the first comprehends all the Magistrates that govern, and those who may in time or course succeed them in the magistracy; for no other than the learned are ever employed in the government, nor any in the greatest charges, that are not of those ranks or degrees of learning, that make them termed sages, or philosophers, or doctors among them.

But, to comprehend what this government of China is, and what the persons employed in it, there will be a necessity of knowing what their learning is, and how it makes them fit for government, very contrary to what ours in Europe is observed to do, and the reason of such different effects from the same cause.

The two great heroes of the Chinese nation were Fohu and Confuchu, whose memories have always continued among them sacred and adored. Fohu lived about four thousand years ago, and was the first founder of their kingdom; the progress whereof has ever since continued upon their records so clear, that they are esteemed by the missionary Jesuits unquestionable and infallible. For, after the death of every King, the successor appoints certain persons to write the memorable actions of his predecessor's reign, and of these an epitome is afterwards drawn and entered into their registers. Fohu first reduced them from the common original lives of mankind, introduced agriculture, wedlock, distinction of sexes by different habits, laws, and orders of government: he invented characters, and left several short tables or writings of astronomy, or observations of the heavens, of morality, of physic, and political government. The characters he used seem to have been partly straight lines of different lengths, and distinguished by different points: and partly hieroglyphics; and these in time were followed by characters, of which each expressed one word.

In these several ways were for many centuries composed many books among the Chineses, in many sorts of learning, especially natural and moral phylosophy, astronomy, astrology, physic, and agriculture.

Something above two thousand years ago lived Confuchu, the most learned, wise, and virtuous of all the Chineses; and for whom both the King and Magistrates in his own age, and all of them in the ages since, seem to have had the greatest deference that has any where been rendered to any mortal man. He writ many tracts, and in them digested all the learning of the ancients, even from the first writing or tables of Fohu, at least all that he thought

necessary or useful to mankind, in their personal, civil, or political capacities; which were then received and since prosecuted with so great esteem and veneration, that none has questioned whatever he writ, but admitted it, as the truest and best rules of opinion and life; so that it is enough in all argument that Confuchu has said it.

Some time after lived a King, who, to raise a new period of time from his own name and reign, endeavoured to abolish the memory of all that had passed before him, and caused all books to be burnt, except those of physic and agriculture. Out of this ruin to learning escaped, either by chance, or some private industry, the epitomes or registers of the several successions of their Kings since Fohu, and the works of Confuchu, or at least a part of them, which have lately in France been printed in the Latin tongue, with a learned preface by some of the missionary Jesuits, under the title of the Works of Confucius.

After the death of this tyrannous and ambitious King, these writings came abroad, and, being the only remainders of the ancient Chinese learning, were received with general applause, or rather veneration: four learned men, having long addicted themselves to the study of these books, writ four several tracts or comments upon them; and one of the succeeding Kings made a law, that no other learning should be taught, studied, or exercised, but what was extracted out of these five books; and so learning has ever since continued in China, wholly confined to the writings of those five men, or rather to those of their Prince of philosophers, the great and renowned Confucius.

The sum of his writings seem to be a body or digestion of ethics, that is, of all moral virtues, either personal, œconomical, civil or political; and framed for the institution and conduct of men's lives, their

families, and their governments, but chiefly of the last: the bent of his thoughts and reasonings running up and down this scale, that no people can be happy but under good governments, and no governments happy but over good men; and that for the felicity of mankind, all men in a nation, from the Prince to the meanest peasant, should endeavour to be good, and wise, and virtuous, as far as his own thoughts, the precepts of others, or the laws of his country can instruct him.

The chief principle he seems to lay down for a foundation, and builds upon, is, that every man ought to study and endeavour the improving and perfecting of his own natural reason to the greatest height he is capable, so as he may never (or as seldom as can be) err and swerve from the law of nature, in the course and conduct of his life: that this, being not to be done without much thought, enquiry, and diligence, makes study and philosophy necessary; which teaches men what is good and what is bad, either in its own nature or for theirs; and consequently what is to be done, and what is to be avoided, by every man in his several station or capacity. That in this perfection of natural reason consists the perfection of body and mind, and the utmost or supreme happiness of mankind. That the means and rules to attain this perfection, are chiefly not to will or desire any thing but what is consonant to his natural reason, nor any thing that is not agreeable to the good and happiness of other men, as well as our own. To this end is prescribed the constant course and practice of the several virtues, known and agreed so generally in the world; among which, courtesy or civility and gratitude are cardinal with them. In short, the whole scope of all Confucius has writ seems aimed only at teaching men to live well, and to govern well; how parents, masters, and ma-

gistrates should rule, and how children, servants, and subjects should obey.

All this, with the many particular rules and instructions, for either personal, œconomical, or political wisdom and virtue, is discoursed by him, with great compass of knowledge, excellence of sense, reach of wit, and illustrated with elegance of style, and aptness of similitudes and examples, as may be easily conceived by any that can allow for the lameness and shortness of translations out of language and manners of writing infinitely differing from ours. So as the man appears to have been of a very extraordinary genius, of mighty learning, admirable virtue, excellent nature, a true patriot of his country, and lover of mankind.

This is the learning of the Chineses, and all other sorts are either disused or ignoble among them; all that, which we call scholastic or polemic, is unknown or unpractised, and serves I fear, among us, for little more than to raise doubts and disputes, heats and feuds, animosities and factions in all controversies of religion or government. Even astrology, and physic, and chemistry, are but ignoble studies, though there are many among them that excel in all these; and the astrologers are much in vogue among the vulgar, as well as their predictions; the chemists apply themselves chiefly to the search of the universal medicine, for health and length of life, pretending to make men immortal, if they can find it out: the physicians excel in the knowledge of the pulse, and of all simple medicines, and go little further; but in the first are so skilful, as they pretend not only to tell by it, how many hours or days a sick man can last, but how many years a man in perfect seeming health may live, in case of no accident or violence. And by simples they pretend to relieve all diseases that nature will allow to be cured. They never let blood;

but say, if the pot boils too fast, there is no need of lading out any of the water, but only of taking away the fire from under it; and so they allay all heats of the blood by abstinence, diet, and cooling herbs.

But all this learning is ignoble and mechanical among them, and the Confucian only essential and incorporate to their government; into which none enters without having first passed through the several degrees. To attain it, is first necessary the knowledge of their letters or characters; and to this must be applied at least ten or twelve years' study and diligence, and twenty for great perfection in it: for, by all I can gather out of so many authors as have written of China, they have no letters at all, but only so many characters, expressing so many words: these are said by some to be sixty, by others eighty, and by others sixscore thousand; and upon the whole, their writings seem to me to be like that of short-hand among us, in case there were a different character invented for every word in our language. Their writing is neither from the left-hand to the right like the European, nor from right to left like the Asiatic languages, but from top to bottom of the paper in one straight line, and then beginning again at the top till the side be full.

The learning of China therefore consists first in the knowledge of their language, and next in the learning, study, and practice of the writings of Confucius and his four great disciples; and as every man grows more perfect in both these, so he is more esteemed and advanced; nor is it enough to have read Confucius, unless it be discovered by retaining the principal parts of him in their memories, and the practice of him in their lives.

The learned among them are promoted by three degrees: the first may resemble that of sophisters

in our colleges after two or three years standing; and this degree is conferred by public examiners appointed for that purpose; who go through the chief cities of each province once a-year, and, upon scrutiny, admit such of the candidates as they approve, to this degree, register their names, and give them a badge belonging to this first form of the learned.

The second degree is promoted with more form, and performed once in three years, in a great college built for that purpose in the chief city of each kingdom; by several examiners appointed by the King, and strict enquiries and questions both of language and learning, and much critic upon the several writings, produced by the several pretenders, and submitted to the examiners. This degree may resemble that of Masters of arts in our colleges, and is conferred with a new badge belonging to it.

The third degree may be compared to that of doctors among us in any of our sciences, and is never conferred but in the imperial city of Peking, with great forms and solemnities, after much examining, and deliberation of the persons appointed for that purpose; and of this degree there are never to be above three hundred at a time in the whole empire, besides such as are actually in the magistracy or government; who are all chosen out of the persons that have commenced or attained this degree of learning. Upon the taking each degree, they repair to a temple of Confucius, which is erected in each city, and adjoins to the colleges: and there they perform the worship and ceremonies appointed in honour of his memory, as the great Prince or hero of the learned.

Of these persons all their councils and all their magistracies are composed; out of these are chosen all their chief Officers and Mandarines, both

civil and military. With these the Emperors and Viceroys of Provinces, and Generals of armies, advise upon all great occasions; and their learning and virtue make them esteemed more able for the execution and discharge of all public employments than the longest practice and experience in other countries; and, when they come into armies, they are found braver and more generous in exposing their lives upon all great occasions, than the boldest soldiers of their troops.

Now for the government, it is absolute monarchy, there being no other laws in China but the King's orders and commands; and it is likewise hereditary, still descending to the next of blood.

But all orders and commands of the King proceed through his councils, and are made upon the recommendation or petition of the council proper and appointed for that affair; so that all matters are debated, determined, and concluded by the several councils; and then, upon their advices or requests made to the King, they are ratified and signed by him, and so pass into laws.

All great offices of state are likewise conferred by the King, upon the same recommendations or petitions of his several councils; so that none are preferred by the humour of the Prince himself, nor by favour of any Minister, by flattery or corruption, but by force or appearance of merit, of learning, and of virtue; which, observed by the several councils, gain their recommendations or petitions to the King.

The chief officers are either those of State, residing constantly at Court, and by whom the whole Empire is governed, or the provincial officers, Viceroys, and Magistrates or Mandarines: for the first, there are, in the imperial city at Peking, six several councils; or, as some authors affirm, one great council, that divides itself into six smaller but dis-

tinct branches. Some difference is also made by writers, concerning the nature or the business of these councils. But that which seems most generally agreed is, that the first of these six is a council of State, by whom all officers through the whole kingdom are chosen, according to their learning and merit. The second is the council of treasury, which has inspection into the whole revenue, and the receipts and payments that are made in or out of it. The third takes care of the temples, offerings, feasts and ceremonies belonging to them; as likewise of learning, and the schools or colleges designed for it. The fourth is the council of war, which disposes of all military offices and honours, and all matters of war and peace, that is, by the King's command, issued upon their representation. The fifth takes care of all the royal or public buildings, and of their fleets. And the sixth is a council or court of justice or judicature, in all causes both civil and criminal.

Each of these councils has a President, and two assistants or chief secretaries, whereof one sits at his right, and the other on his left hand; who digest and register the debates and orders of the council. And besides these, there are in each council ten counsellors.

By these councils the whole empire of China is governed through all the several kingdoms that compose it; and they have in each Province particular officers, intendants, and notaries, from whom they receive constant accounts, and to whom they send constant instructions concerning all passages or affairs of moment in any of the several Provinces of the kingdom.

There are, besides these six, several smaller councils; as one for the affairs of the King's women, for his houshold, and his domestic chancery or justice. But above all is the council of the Colaos, or chief

Ministers, who are seldom above five or six in number, but persons of the most consummate prudence and experience; who, after having passed with great applause through the other councils or governments of Provinces, are at last advanced to this supreme dignity, and serve as a Privy Council, or rather a Junto, sitting with the Emperor himself, which is allowed to none of the others. To these are presented all the results or requests of the other councils; and being by their advice approved, they are by the Emperor signed and ratified, and so dispatched.

These are always attended by some of the chiefest and most renowned philosophers or sages of the kingdom; who attend the Emperor, and serve him in receiving all petitions, and give their opinions upon them to the Emperor or the Colaos; as also upon any matters of great moment and difficulty, when they are consulted: and these are chosen out of two assemblies residing at Peking, and consisting of sixty men each; but all choice persons, whose wisdom and virtue are generally known and applauded. They are employed in all matters of learning, and giving necessary orders therein; keeping all the public writings, and ordering and digesting them; registering all laws and orders of State; and out of these are appointed, by each succeeding King, some persons to relate and register the times and actions of his predecessor. They are at their leisure much given to poetry; in which they compile the praises of virtuous men and actions, satires against vice, inscriptions for monuments and triumphal arches, and such like compositions. And lastly, out of these (as they grow in esteem and fame of wisdom and virtue), are chosen and advanced by degrees the officers of State, and counsellors in the several councils; and none ever ar-

rives to be a Colao, that has not been one of these two assemblies.

Each particular kingdom of the empire has the same councils, or some very like them, for the government of that particular Province; but there is besides in each a Superintendent, sent more immediately from Court, to inspect the course of affairs; a censor of justice and manners, without whose approval no capital sentences are to be executed; and a third officer, employed by the Empress, in the nature of an almoner, whose business is only that of charity, and relief of the poor and distressed, and setting free prisoners upon small debts or offences; there is, besides, in each Province, a particular council, to take care of learning, and to appoint rules and examiners for the several degrees thereof.

It were endless to enumerate all the excellent orders of this State, which seem contrived by a reach of sense and wisdom, beyond what we meet with in any other government of the world; but, by some few, the rest may be judged.

Each Prince of the royal blood has a revenue assigned him, and a city where he is bound to reside, and never to stir out of it without the Emperor's leave. All degrees of people are distinguished by their habit, and the several officers by several badges upon them: and the colour worn by the Emperor, which is yellow, is never used by any other person whatsoever. Every house has a board over the door, wherein is written the number, sex, and quality of the persons living in it; and to a certain number of houses one is appointed to inspect the rest, and take care that this be exactly done. None is admitted to bear office in any Province where he was born, unless it be military; which is grounded upon the belief, that in matters of jus-

tice men will be partial to their friends, but in those of war men will fight best for their own country. None ever continues in any office above three years, unless upon a new election; and none put out for miscarriage in his office, is again admitted to any employment. The two great hinges of all governments, reward and punishment, are no where turned with greater care, nor exercised with more bounty and severity. Their justice is rigorous upon all offences against the law, but none more exemplary than upon corruption in judges. Besides this, inquisition is made into their ignorance and weakness, and even into carelessness and rashness in their sentences; and, as the first is punished with death, so these are with dismission and disgrace. The rewards of honour (besides those of advancement) are conferred by patents from the Emperor, expressing merits and granting privileges, by pillars of marble with elegant and honorary inscriptions; and to merit extraordinary towards the Prince and country, even by erecting temples, offering incense, and appointing Priests for the service of them. Agriculture is encouraged by so many special privileges from the Crown, and the common laws or customs of the country, that whatever wars happen, the tillers of the ground are untouched, as if they were sacred, like Priests in other places; so as no country in the world was ever known to be so cultivated as the whole kingdom of China. Honour and respect is no where paid to nobility and riches so much as it is here to virtue and learning, which are equally regarded both by the Prince and the people: and the advancement to office of persons only for excelling in those qualities, prevents the cankers of envy and faction, that corrupt and destroy so many other governments: every one seeking preferment here only by merit, attributes to it that of other men. Though the King be the

most absolute in the world, since there are no other laws in China but what he makes, yet, all matters being first digested and represented by his councils, the humours and passions of the Prince enter not into the forms or conduct of the government; but his personal favours to men or women are distributed in the preferments of his houshold, or out of the vast revenue that is particularly applied to it, for support of the greatest expence and magnificence that appears in any palace of the world. So that it may truly be said, that no King is better served and obeyed, more honoured, or rather adored; and no people are better governed, nor with greater ease and felicity.

Upon these foundations and institutions, by such methods and orders, the kingdom of China seems to be framed and policed with the utmost force and reach of human wisdom, reason, and contrivance; and in practice to excel the very speculations of other men, and all those imaginary schemes of the European wits, the institutions of Xenophon, the republic of Plato, the Utopias, or Oceanas, of our modern writers. And this will perhaps be allowed by any that considers the vastness, the opulence, the populousness of this region, with the ease and facility wherewith it is governed, and the length of time this government has run. The last is three times longer than that of the Assyrian Monarchy, which was thirteen hundred years, and the longest period of any government we meet with in story. The numbers of people and of their forces, the treasures and revenues of the Crown, as well as wealth and plenty of the subjects, the magnificence of their public buildings and works, would be incredible, if they were not confirmed by the concurring testimonies of Paulus Venetus, Martinius Kercherus, with several other relations, in Italian, Portuguese, and Dutch, either by missionary Friars, or persons employed thi-

ther upon trade, or embassies upon that occasion: yet the whole government is represented as a thing managed with as much facility, order, and quiet, as a common family, though some writers affirm the number of people in China, before the last Tartar wars, to have been above two hundred millions. Indeed, the canals cut through the country, or made by conjunctions of rivers, are so infinite, and of such lengths, and so perpetually filled with boats and vessels of all kinds, that one writer believes there are near as many people in these, and the ships wherewith their havens are filled, who live upon the water, as those upon the land.

It is true, that as physicians say, the highest degree of health in a body subjects it to the greatest danger and violence of some disease, so the perfections of this government or constitution has had the same effect, joined with the accident of their situation upon such a neighbour as the Tartars. For these, by the hardness and poverty of their country and their lives, are the boldest and the fiercest people in the world, and the most enterprising. On the other side, the excellence of the Chinese wit and government renders them, by great ease, plenty, and luxury, in time effeminate, and thereby exposes them to frequent attempts and invasions of their savage neighbours. Three several times, upon their records, the Tartars have conquered great parts of the kingdom of China, and, after long establishments there, have been expelled: till (as we said before) about the year 1650, they atchieved the complete and intire conquest of the whole empire, after a bloody war of above thirty years. But the force of this constitution and government appears in no circumstance or light so great as in this, that it has waded safe through so great tempests and inundations as six changes of

race among their Kings by civil wars, and four conquests by foreign and barbarous forces. For, under the present Tartar Kings, the government continues still the same, and in the hands of the Chinese learned; and all the change that appears to have been made by such a storm or revolution, has been only that a Tartar race sits in the throne instead of a Chinese; and the cities and strong places are garrisoned by Tartar soldiers, who fall by degrees into the manners, customs, and language of the Chineses. So great a respect, or rather veneration, is paid to this wise and admirable constitution, even by its enemies and invaders, that both civil usurpers and foreign conquerors vie with emulation who shall make greatest court, and give most support to it, finding no other means to secure their own safety and ease, by the obedience of the people, than the establishment and preservation of their ancient constitutions and government.

The great idea which may be conceived of the Chinese wisdom and knowledge, as well as their wit, ingenuity, and civility, by all we either read or see of them, is apt to be lessened by their gross and sottish idolatry; but this itself is only among the vulgar or illiterate, who worship, after their manner, whatever idols belong to each city, or village, or family; and the temples and Priests belonging to them, are in usual request among the common people and the women. But the learned adore the Spirit of the world, which they hold to be eternal, and this without temples, idols, or Priests. And the Emperor only is allowed to sacrifice at certain times, by himself or his officers, at two temples in the two imperial cities of Peking and Nanking, one dedicated to heaven, and the other to the earth.

This I mention, to shew how the furthest East and West may be found to agree in notions of di-

vinity, as well as in excellence of civil or politic constitutions, by passing at one leap from these of China to those of Peru.

SECTION III.

It is known enough, that, about the year 1484, Alonzo Sanchez, master of a Spanish vessel, that usually traded from those coasts to the Canaries and Maderas, was, in his passage between these islands, surprised with a furious storm at East, so violent that he was forced to let his ship drive before it without any sail; and so black, that within twenty-eight days he could not take the height of the sun. That he was at length cast upon a shore, but whether island or continent he could not tell, but full of savage people. That after infinite toils, dangers, and miseries of hunger and sickness, he made at length one of the Tercera islands, with only five men left of seventeen he carried out; and meeting there with the famous Columbo, made him such relations, and so pertinent accounts of his voyage, as gave occasion for the discovery of America, or the West Indies, by this man so renowned in our modern story.

Whatever predictions have been since found out, or applied towards the discovery of this new world, or stories told of a certain Prince in Wales having run the same fortune, or of the ancient Carthaginians, I do not find, by all that I have read upon this subject, any reason to believe that any mortals, from Europe or Africa, had ever traced those unknown paths of that western ocean, or left the least footsteps of having discovered those countries, before Alonzo Sanchez and his crew. Upon the arrival of the Spaniards there with Columbus, they found nature as naked as the inhabitants; in

most parts no thought of business, further than the most natural pleasures or necessities of life; nations divided by natural bounds of rivers, rocks, or mountains, or difference of language; quarrels among them only for hunger or lust; the command in wars given to the strongest or the bravest; and in peace taken up or exercised by the boldest among them; and their lives commonly spent in the most innocent entertainments of hunting, fishing, feasting, or in the most careless leisure.

There were among them many principalities, that seemed to have grown up from the original of paternal dominion, and some communities with orders and laws; but the two great dominions were those of Mexico and Peru, which had arrived to such extent of territory, power, and riches, that amazed those who had been enough acquainted with the greatness and splendour of the European kingdoms. And I never met with any story so entertaining as the relations of the several learned Spanish Jesuits and others, concerning these countries and people, in their native innocence and simplicity. Mexico was so vast an empire, that it was well represented by the common answer of the Indians all along that coast to the Spaniards, when they came to any part, and asked the people whether they were under Montezuma, *Quien noes esclavo de Montezuma?* or, Who is not a slave of Montezuma? as if they thought the whole world were so. They might truly call it slave, for no dominion was ever so absolute, so tyrannous, and so cruel as his. Among other tributes imposed on the people, one was of men to be sacrificed every year to an ugly deformed idol, in the great temple of Mexico. Such numbers as the King pleased of poor victims were laid upon such extents of cities or villages, or number of inhabitants, and there chosen by lot, to satisfy such bloody and inhuman

taxes. These were often influenced by the Priests, who, when they saw a man grow negligent, either in respect to themselves, or devotion to their idols, would send to tell the King that the gods were hungry, and thereupon the common tribute was raised; so as that year the Spaniards landed and invaded Mexico, there had been above thirty thousand men sacrificed to this cruel superstition. And this was said to have given great occasion for the easy conquests of the Spaniards, by the easy revolts and submissions of the natives to any new dominions.

The same was observed to happen in Peru, by the general hatred and aversion of the people in that empire to Atahualpa, who, being a bastard of the Ynca's family, had first by practices and subtlety, and afterwards by cruelty and violence, raised himself to the throne of Peru, and cut off with merciless cruelty all the masculine race of the true royal blood, that were at man's estate, or near it, after that line had lasted pure and sacred, and reigned with unspeakable felicity both to themselves and their subjects, for above eight hundred years.

This kingdom is said to have extended near seven hundred leagues in length, from North to South, and about an hundred and twenty in breadth: it is bounded on the West by the Pacific ocean; on the East by mountains impassable for men or beasts, and, as some write, even birds themselves; the height being such, as makes their tops always covered with snow, even in that warm region. On the North it is bounded with a great river, and on the South with another, which separates it from the province of Chili, that reaches to the Magellan straits.

The kingdom of Peru deduced its original from their great heroes, Mango Copac, and his wife and sister Coya Mama, who are said to have first ap-

peared in that country, near a mighty lake, which is still sacred with them upon this occasion.

Before this time, the people of these countries are reported to have lived like the beasts among them, without any traces of orders, laws, or religion, without other food than from the trees or the herbs, or what game they could catch, without further provision than for present hunger, without any clothing or houses; but dwelt in rocks, or caves, or trees, to be secure from wild beasts, or in tops of hills, if they were in fear of fierce neighbours. When Mango Copac and his sister came first into these naked lands, as they were persons of excellent shape and beauty, so they were adorned with such cloaths as continued afterwards the usual habit of the Yncas, by which name they called themselves. They told the people who came first about them, that they were the son and daughter of the Sun, and that their father, taking pity of the miserable condition of mankind, had sent them down to reclaim them from those bestial lives, and to instruct them how to live happily and safely, by observing such laws, customs, and orders, as their father the Sun had commanded these his children to teach them. The great rule they first taught was, that every man should live according to reason, and consequently neither say nor do any thing to others, that they were not willing others should say or do to them; because it was against all common reason, to make one law for ourselves, and another for other people. And this was the great principle of all their morality. In the next place, that they should worship the Sun, who took care of the whole world, gave life to all creatures, and made the plants grow, and the herbs fit for food to maintain them; and was so careful and so good, as to spare no pains of his own, but to go round the world every day, to inspect and provide for all

that was upon it, and had sent these his two children down on purpose, for the good and happiness of mankind, and to rule them with the same care and goodness that he did the world. After this, they taught them the arts most necessary for life, as Mango Copac, to sow mayz (or the common Indian grain) at certain seasons, to preserve it against others, to build houses against inclemencies of air, and danger of wild beasts, to distinguish themselves by wedlock into several families, to clothe themselves, so as to cover at least the shame of nakedness, to tame and nourish such creatures as might be of common use and sustenance. Coya Mama taught the women to spin and weave, both cotton, and certain coarse wools of some beast among them.

With these instructions and inventions they were so much believed in all they said, and adored for what they did and taught of common utility, that they were followed by great numbers of people, observed and obeyed like sons of the Sun, sent down from heaven to instruct and to govern them. Mango Copac had in his hand a rod of gold, about two feet long, and five inches round. He said, that his father, the Sun, had given it him, and bid him, when he travelled northward from the lake, he should every time he rested strike this wand down into the ground, and where at the first stroke it should go down to the very top, he should there build a temple to the Sun, and fix the seat of his government.

This fell out to be in the vale of Cozco, where he founded that city, which was head of this great kingdom of Peru.

Here he divided his company into two colonies or plantations, and called one the high Casco, and the other the low, and began here to be a lawgiver to those people. In each of these were at first a

thousand families, which he caused all to be registered, with the numbers in each. This he did by strings of several colours, and knots of several kinds and colour upon them, by which, both accounts were kept of things and times, and as much expressed of their minds, as was necessary in government, where neither letters nor money, nor consequently disputes or avarice, with their consequences, ever entered.

He instituted decurions through both these colonies, that is, one over every ten families, another over fifty, a third over a hundred, a fourth over five hundred, and a fifth over a thousand; and to this last they gave the name of a Curaca or Governor. Every decurion was a censor, a patron, and a judge or arbiter in small controversies among those under his charge. They took care that every one clothed themselves, laboured, and lived according to the orders given them by the Yncas, from their father the Sun; among which one was, that none who could work, should be idle, more than to rest after labour; and that none, who could not work, by age, sickness, or invalidity, should want, but be maintained by the others pains. These were so much observed, that in the whole empire of Peru, and during the long race of the Ynca Kings, no beggar was ever known, and no women ever so much as went to see a neighbour, but with their work in their hands, which they followed all the time the visit lasted. Upon this, I remember a strain of refined civility among them, which was, that when any woman went to see another of equal, or ordinary birth, she worked at her own work in the other's house; but if she made a visit to any of the Pallas, (which was the name by which they called all the women of the true royal blood, as Yncas was that of the men) then they immediately desired the Palla to give them a piece of her own

work, and the visit passed in working for her. Idleness, sentenced by the decurions, was punished by so many stripes in public, and the disgrace was more sensible than the pain. Every colony had one supreme judge, to whom the lower decurions remitted great and difficult cases, or to whom (in such case) the criminals appealed; but every decurion that concealed any crime of those under his charge above a day and a night, became guilty of it, and liable to the same punishment. There were laws or orders likewise against theft, mutilations, murders, disobedience to officers, and adulteries (for every man was to have one lawful wife, but had the liberty of keeping other women, as he could). The punishment of all crimes was either corporal pains or death, but commonly the last, upon these two reasons which they gave; first, that all crimes, whether great or small, were of the same nature, and deserved the same punishment, if they were committed against the divine commands, which were sent them down from the Sun: next, that to punish any man in his possessions or charges, and leave them alive, and in strength and liberty, was to leave an ill man more incensed or necessitated to commit new crimes. On the other side, they never forfeited the charge or possessions of a son for his father's offences, but the judges only remonstrated to him the guilt and punishment of them for his warning or example. These orders had so great force and effect, that many times a whole year passed without the execution of one criminal.

There is no doubt, but that which contributed much to this great order in the State, was the disuse of other possessions than what were necessary to life, and the eminent virtue of their first great hero, or legislator, which seemed to have been entailed upon their whole race, in the course of

their reign: so as in the whole length of it it is reported among them, that no true Ynca was ever found guilty or punished for any crime. Thus particular qualities have been observed, in old Rome, to be constant in the same families for several hundred years; as goodness, clemency, love of the people, in that of the Valerii; haughtiness, pride, cruelty, and hatred of the people, in that of the Appii; which may come from the force of blood, of education, or example. It is certain no government was ever established and continued by greater examples of virtue and severity, nor any ever gave greater testimonies, than the Yncas, of an excellent institution, by the progresses and successes, both in the propagation and extent of empire, in force and plenty, in greatness and magnificence of all public works, as temples, palaces, highways, bridges, and in all provisions necessary to common ease, safety, and utility of human life: so as several of the Jesuits, and particularly Acosta, are either so just or so presuming as to prefer the civil constitutions of Mango Copac before those of Lycurgus, Numa, Solon, or any other lawgivers so celebrated in the more known parts of the world.

To every colony was assigned such a compass of land, whereof one part was appropriated to the Sun; a second to the widows, orphans, poor, old or maimed; a third to the peculiar maintenance of every family, according to their number; and a fourth to the Ynca. In this order the whole was tilled, and the harvest or product laid up in several granaries; out of which it was distributed by officers to that purpose, according to the several uses for which it was designed, and new seed issued out at the season for the new tillage.

Every decurion, besides the office of a censor and judge, had that likewise of a patron or soli-

citor, for relief of the necessities or wants of those under his charge. They were bound to give in to the public registers an account of all that were born, and of all that died, under their charge. None was suffered to leave the colony or people he was born in, without leave, nor to change the habit commonly used in it (by some parts or marks whereof those of each province were distinguished). None to marry out of it, no more than the Yncas out of their own blood.

The Ynca that reigned was called Capa Ynca, which the Spaniards interpret *Solo Sennor*, or Only Lord. He ever married the first of his female kindred, either sister, niece, or cousin, to preserve the line the purest they could. Once in two years he assembled all the unmarried Yncas, men above twenty, and women above sixteen years old, and there in public married all such as he thought fit, by giving each of their hands one to the other. The same was done among the vulgar, by the Curaca of each people.

Every family, at their time of meals, ate with their doors open, so that all might see their temperance and order.

By these and other such laws and institutions, Mango Copac first settled his government or kingdom in the colonies of Cozco, which were in time multiplied into many others, by the willing confluence and recourse of many several people round about him, allured by the divine authority of his orders, by the sweetness and clemency of his reign, and by the felicity of all that lived under it; and indeed the whole government of this race of the Yncas was rather like that of a tender father over his children, or a just, careful, and well-natured guardian over pupils, than of a lord or commander over slaves or subjects: by which they came to be so honoured or adored, that it was like sacrilege

for any common person so much as to touch the Ynca without his leave; which was given as a grace to those who served him well, or to new subjects that submitted to him.

After the extent of his kingdom into great compasses of territory round Cozco, by voluntary submission of the people, as to some evangelical, rather than legal doctrines or institutions, Mango Copac assembled all his Curacas, and told them that his father, the Sun, had commanded him to extend his institutions and orders as far as he was able, for the good and happiness of mankind; and for that purpose, with armed troops, to go to those remoter parts that had not yet received them, and to reduce them to their observance. That the Sun had commanded him to hurt or offend none that would submit to him, and thereby accept of the good and happiness that was offered him by such divine bounty, but to distress only such as refused, without killing any that did not assail them, and then to do it justly in their own defence.

For this design he formed and assembled troops of men, armed both with offensive, and chiefly with defensive weapons. He cast them into the order of decurions, in the same manner as he had done families; to every ten men was one officer, another to fifty, another to one hundred, a fourth to five hundred, and a fifth to a thousand. There was a sixth over five thousand, and a seventh as a General over ten thousand; of which number his first army was composed.

With this and other such armies he reduced many new territories under his empire, declaring to every people he approached the same things he had done first to those who came about him near the great lake, and offering them the benefit of the arts he had taught, the orders he had instituted, the protection he had given his subjects, and the

felicity they enjoyed under it. Those who submitted were received into the same rights and enjoyments with the rest of his subjects: those who refused were distressed, and pursued by his forces till they were necessitated to accept of his offers and conditions. He used no offensive weapons against any till they attacked them, and then defensive only at first, till the danger and slaughter of his men grew otherwise unavoidable; then he suffered his forces to fall upon them, and kill without mercy, and not to spare even those that yielded themselves, after having so long and obstinately resisted. Those who submitted after the first threats, or distresses, or bloodless opposition, he received into grace, suffered them to touch his sacred person, made great and common feasts for them and his own soldiers together for several days, and then incorporated them into the body of his empire, and gave to each of them cloaths to wear, and corn to sow.

By these ways, and such heroic virtues, and by the length of his reign, he so far extended his dominions, as to divide them into four provinces, over each whereof he appointed an Ynca to be a Viceroy (having many sons grown fit to command), and in each of them established three supreme councils, the first of justice, the second of war, and the third of the revenue, of which an Ynca was likewise President, which continued ever after.

At the end of a long and adored reign, Mango Copac fell into the last period of his life; upon the approach whereof he called together all his children and grandchildren, with his eldest son, to whom he left his kingdom, and told them, that for his own part he was going to repose himself with his father the Sun, from whom he came; that he advised and charged them all to go on in the paths of reason and virtue which he had taught

them, till they followed him the same journey; that by this course only they would prove themselves to be true sons of the Sun, and be as such honoured and esteemed. He gave the same charge more especially and more earnestly to the Ynca his successor, and commanded him to govern his people according to his example, and the precepts he had received from the Sun; and to do it always with justice, mercy, piety, clemency, and care of the poor: and when he the Prince should go in time to rest with his father the Sun, that he should give the same instructions and exhortations to his successor. And this form was accordingly used in all the successions of the race of the Yncas, which lasted eight hundred years, with the same orders, and the greatest felicity that could be of any state.

I will say nothing of the greatness, magnificence, and riches of their buildings, palaces, or temples, especially those of the Sun; of the splendour of their court, their triumphs after victories, their huntings and feasts, their military exercises and honours; but, as testimonies of their grandeur, mention only two of their highways, whereof one was five hundred leagues, plain and levelled through mountains, rocks, and valleys, so that a carriage might drive through the whole length without difficulty. Another very long and large, paved all with cut or squared stone, fenced with low walls on each side, and set with trees, whose branches gave shade, and the fruits food, to all that passed.

I shall end this survey of their government with one remark upon their religion, which is, that though the vulgar worshiped only the Sun, yet the Amautas, who were their sages or philosophers, taught, that the Sun was only the great Minister of Pachacamac, whom they adored in

the first place, and to whom a great and sumptuous temple was dedicated. This word is interpreted by the Spaniard, *Animador del mundo*, or He that animates or enlivens the world; and seems to be yet a more refined notion of the Deity than that of the Chineses, who adored the Spirit and Soul of the world. By this principle of their religion, as all the others of their government and policy, it must, I think, be allowed, that human nature is the same in these remote, as well as the other more known and celebrated parts of the world: that the different governments of it are framed and cultivated by as great reaches and strength of reason and of wisdom, as any of ours; and some of their frames less subject to be shaken by the passions, factions, and other corruptions to which those in the middle scene of Europe and Asia have been so often and so much exposed: that the same causes produce every where the same effects; and that the same honours and obedience are in all places but consequences or tributes paid to the same heroic virtue or transcendent genius, in what parts soever, or under what climates of the world, it fortunes to appear.

SECTION IV.

The third survey I proposed to make, in this essay upon heroic virtue, was that of the northern region, which lies without the bounds of the Euxine and the Caspian seas, the river Oxus to the East, and the Danube to the West, which by the Greeks and Romans was called all by one general name of Scythia, and little known to any Princes or subjects of the four great monarchies, otherwise than by the defeats or disgraces received in their expeditions against these fierce inhabitants of those

barren countries. Such was the fatal overthrow of Cyrus and his army by the eastern Scythians, and the shameful flight of Darius from the western.

This vast region, which extends from the north-east ocean, that bounds Cataya and China to the north-west, that washes the coasts of Norway, Jutland, and some northern parts of Germany, though comprised by the ancients under the common name of Scythia, was distinguished into the Asiatic and the European, which were divided by the river Tanais, and the mountains out of which it rises. Those numerous nations may be called the eastern Scythians, who lie on that side of the Tanais, or at least the Volga, and those the western that lie on this. Among the first, the Massagetæ were the most known or talked of by the ancient writers; and among the last, the Getæ and the Sarmatæ. The first is now comprehended under the general name of Great Tartary, and the second under those of the Lesser Tartary, Muscovy, Poland, Sweden, and Denmark; the two last styling themselves Kings of the Goths and Vandals.

How far this vast territory is inhabited northward by any race of mankind, I think none pretend to know, nor from how remote corners of those frozen mountains some of those fierce nations first crept out, whose force and arms have been so known and felt by all the rest of what was of old called the habitable world.

Whether it be that the course of conquest has run generally from the North to the South, as from the harder upon the softer, or from the poorer upon the richer nations, because men commonly attack with greater fierceness and courage than they defend, being in one spirited by desire, and in the other usually damped by fear, I cannot tell; but certain it is, how celebrated soever the four great monarchies have been by the writings of so

many famous authors, who have eternized their fame, and thereby their own, yet there is no part of the world that was ever subject to Assyrian, Persian, Greek, or Roman empires (except perhaps some little islands), that has not been ravaged and conquered by some of those northern nations, whom they reckoned and despised as barbarous; nor where new empires, kingdoms, principalities, or governments have not been by them erected upon the ruins of the old; which may justly mortify the pride of mankind, the depths of their reasonings, the reach of their politics, the wisdom of their laws, and force of their discipline, and may be allowed for a great and undisputed triumph of nature over art.

It is agreed in story, that the Scythians conquered the Medes during the periods of that race in the Assyrian empire, and were masters of Asia for fifteen years, until they returned home upon domestic occasions; that Cyrus was beaten and slain by their fury and revenge, under the leading of a woman, whose wit and conduct made a great figure in ancient story; that the Romans were defeated by the Parthians, who were of the Scythian race.

But the great hero of the eastern Scythians or Tartars I esteem to have been Tamerlane; and, whether he was son of a shepherd or a King, to have been the greatest conqueror that was ever in the world, at least that appears upon any present records of story. His atchievements were great upon China, where he subdued many provinces, and forced their King to such conditions of a peace as he was content to impose. He made war against the Muscovites with the same success; and partly by force, partly by consent, he gained a passage through their territories for that vast army which he led against Bajazet (then the terror of

the world). He conquered this proud Turk and his whole empire, as far as the Hellespont, which he crossed, and made a visit to the poor Greek Emperor at Constantinople, who had sent to make alliance with him upon his first invasion of Bajazet, at whose mercy this Prince then almost lay, with the small remainders of the Grecian empire. Nothing was greater or more heroical in this victorious Tamerlane, than the faith and honour wherewith he observed this alliance with the Greeks; for having been received at Constantinople with all the submissions that could be made him; having viewed and admired the greatness and structure of that noble city, and said, it was fit to make the seat for the empire of the world; and having the offer of it freely made him by the Greeks to possess it for his own; yet, after many honours exchanged between these two Princes, he left this city in the freedom, and the Greek Emperor in the possessions he found them, went back into Asia, and in his return conquered Syria, Persia, and India, where the Great Moguls have ever since boasted to be the race of Tamerlane. After all these conquests he went home, and passed the rest of his age in his own native kingdom, and died a fair and natural death; which was a strain of felicity, as well as greatness, beyond any of the conquerors of the four renowned monarchies of the world. He was, without question, a great and heroic genius, of great justice, exact discipline, generous bounty, and much piety, adoring one God, though he was neither Christian, Jew, nor Mahometan; and deserves a nobler character than could be allowed by modern writers to any person of a nation so unlike themselves.

The Turks were another race of these eastern Scythians, their original countries being placed by some upon the north-east, by others upon the

north-west coast of the Caspian sea, and perhaps both may have contributed to furnish such numbers as have over-run so great a part of Europe, Asia, and Africa. But I shall have occasion to say more of them and their conquests in the next section.

That part of Scythia that lies between the two rivers of the Volga and Boristhenes, whereof the one runs into the Caspian, and the other into the Euxine sea, was the seat of the Getæ, whom Herodotus mentions as then known by the name of *Getæ immortales*, because they believed that, when they died, they should go to Zamolxis, and enjoy a new life in another world, at least such of them as lived according to his orders and institutions, who had been a great Prince or lawgiver among them. From this name of Getæ came that of Gothæ; and this part of Scythia, in its whole northern extent, I take to have been the vast hive out of which issued so many mighty swarms of barbarous nations, who, under the several names of Goths, Vandals, Alans, Lombards, Huns, Bulgars, Francs, Saxons, and many others, broke in at several times and places upon the several provinces of the Roman empire, like so many tempests, tore in pieces the whole fabric of that government, framed many new ones in its room, changed the inhabitants, language, customs, laws, the usual names of places and of men, and even the very face of nature where they came, and planted new nations and dominions in their room. Thus Italy, after many spoils and invasions of the Goths and Vandals, came to be possessed by the Lombards, Pannonia by the Huns, Thracia by the Bulgars, the southern parts of Spain or Andaluzia by the Vandals, the east or Catalonia by the Catti and Alani; the rest of that continent by the Goths. Gaul was subdued by the Francs, and Britain by

the Saxons, both which nations are thought to have come anciently from the more northern regions, and seated themselves in those parts of Germany that were afterwards called by their names, from whence they proceeded in time to make their latter conquests. The Scutes, who conquered Scotland and Ireland, and possessed them under the names of Albin Scutes, and Irin Scutes, I guess to have come from Norway, and to have retained more of the ancient Scythians (before the Goths came into those parts), both in their language and habit, as that of mantles, and in the custom of removing from one part to another, according to the seasons or conveniences of pasture. The Normans, that came into France, I take likewise to be a later race from Norway, but after the Gothic orders and institutions had gained more footing in that province.

The writers of those times content themselves to lay the disgraces and ruins of their countries upon the numbers and fierceness of these savage nations that invaded them, or upon their own disunions and disorders, that made way for so easy conquests: but I cannot believe, that the strange successes and victorious progresses of these northern conquerors should have been the effect only of tumultuary arms and numbers, or that governments erected by them, and which have lasted so long in Europe, should have been framed by unreasonable or unthinking men. It is more likely, that there was among them some force of order, some reach of conduct, as well as some principle of courage, above the common strain, that so strange adventures could not be atchieved but by some enchanted knights.

That which first gave me this thought, was the reflection upon those verses in Lucan:

Populos quos despicit Arctos
Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget lethi metus, inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animique capaces
Mortis, et ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ.

Happy in their mistake, those people whom
The northern pole aspects, whom fear of death
(The greatest of all human fears) ne'er moves;
From hence their courage, prone to rush on steel,
Their minds despising death, that think it mean
To spare a life that must again return.

By this passage it appears, that sixteen hundred years ago, those northern people were distinguished from all others by a fearlesness of death, grounded upon the belief of another life, which made them despise the care of preserving this.

Whether such an opinion were first infused among them by Zamolxis, and propagated by Odin among his followers, or by him invented, I will not conjecture: it may have been either one or the other, since the Goths he led into the north-west parts of Europe are agreed to have come from the Getæ, who are placed near the river Tanais. For those vast Scythian regions were divided into infinite several nations, separated by the common natural bounds of rivers, lakes, mountains, woods, or marshes. Each of these countries was like a mighty hive, which, by the vigour of propagation and health of climate, growing too full of people, threw out some new swarm at certain periods of time, that took wing, and sought out some new abode, expelling or subduing the old inhabitants, and seating themselves in their rooms, if they liked the conditions of place and commodities of life they met with; if not, going on till they found some other more agreeable to their present humours or dispositions. Sometimes the expelled nations took heart, and when they fled from one country invaded ano-

ther, and revenged the injuries of some cruel neighbours upon others that were weaker, but more innocent; and so, like waves, thrust on one the other, for mighty length of space or countries. Sometimes the conquerors augmented their numbers and forces with the strongest and most adventurous of those nations they first invaded, by their voluntary accession into the shares or hopes of their future fortunes, and so went on to further conquests.

The usual manner of these expeditions was, that when a country grew too full of people for the growth of it to supply, they assembled together all that were fit to bear arms, and divided themselves into two bands, whereof one staid at home to inhabit and defend their own, and the other went to seek new adventures, and possess some other they could gain by force of arms; and this was done sometimes by lot, and sometimes by agreement between the two divisions. That band or colony that went abroad, chose their leader among those in most repute and esteem for wisdom or for courage; and these were their commanders or generals in war; and if they lived and succeeded, were the first Princes of those countries they conquered, and chose for the seat of their new colony or kingdom.

* It seems agreed by the curious enquirers into the antiquities of the Runic language and learning,

Excerpta ex Edda.

* Hic Odinus fatidicus erat, ut et ejus conjux, unde nomen suum in Septentrione præ cunctis Regibus maxime celebratum iri prævidit. Hâc motus causâ ex Turcia iter molitus erat, adjuncto sibi magno numero militum juvenum et seniorum utriusque sexûs. Quascunque terras peragrârunt, divinis efferebantur encomiis, diis quam hominibus similiores ab universis judicati; nec prius substiterunt quam terram ingressi essent quæ nunc Saxonia appellatur, ubi per multos annos Odinus vixit, istamque regionem latè possedit, quam cùm distribuisset inter filios, ita ut Vagdeggo orientalem Saxoniam, Begdego Westphaliam, Siggo Franconiam determinavit; ipse in aliam migravit regionem, quæ

that Odin, or Woden, or Goden (according to the different northern dialects) was the first and great hero of the western Scythians; that he led a mighty swarm of the Getes, under the name of Goths, from the Asiatic Scythia into the farthest north-west parts of Europe; that he seated and spread his kingdom round the whole Baltic sea, and over all the islands in it, and extended it westward to the ocean, and southward to the Elve (which was anciently esteemed the bound between the Scythians and the Germans); that this vast country was in the ancient Gothic term called Biarmia, and is by some authors termed *Officina Gentium*, having furnished

tunc Reidgotolandia dicebatur, et quicquid ibi placuit sibi vindicavit. Huic terræ præfecit filium Skioldam, ex quo Freidlefus genitus est, cujus posteri Skioldungar sive Skioldiades nominantur, à qua stirpe Daniæ reges descenderunt, ista Reidgotolandia, nunc Jutlandia appellatur.

Ex Snorrone.

Odinus heros in Asgordia prope Tanaim, sacrorum gentilium summus antistes, duodecim senatores, qui cæteris pietate et sapientia præstarent, religioni curandæ et juri dicundo præfecit. Hic magnanimus et fortis bellator innumera regna ditionesque suam redegit in potestatem. Manus ducum suorum vertici imponens eos consecrabat, qui in pugnam euntes nomen Odini nuncupabant. Othinus fratribus suis regnum Asgardiæ commisit, ipse in Russiam profectus et inde in Saxoniam, eam sibi subjugavit, et filiis in regendum commisit. Inauditi generis miracula variis exercuit præstigiis, Magisterium publicum Magiæ præcipiendæ instituit: in varias formarum species se transmutare noverat, tanta eloquii dulcedine audientes demulcere poterat ut dictis ejus nullam non fidem adhiberent. Carminibus inter loquendum crebrò prolatis miram sermoni gratiam conciliabat: tanta ludificandorum oculorum peritiâ callebat, ut sæpe corpus suum velut spiritu suppresso humi prosterneret, evigilans se longinquas oras peragrâsse, et quid ibi rerum gereretur comperisse asseverabat. Ad summum Runis suis et incantationibus incredibilia patrando tam clarum sibi nomen peperit, ut sapientiæ et potentiæ suæ et Asianorum per omnes brevi nationes sit debitum, quo evenit ut Sueci aliique populi Boreales Odino sacrificia dependerent. Post obitum multis apparuit, multis victoriam contulit, alios in Walhalde, id est, aulam Plutonis, invitavit.

all those swarms of Goths, Vandals, Saxons, Angles, Jutes, Danes, Normans, which so often infested, and at length subdued, all the western provinces of Europe. Some write, that he extended his conquests even as far as Franconia itself; but all agree that this Odin was the first inventor of, at least the first engraver of, the Runic letters or characters, sometimes so famous, and at last so infamous in the world, by the vulgar opinion and imputation of all sorts of charms, enchantments, or witchcrafts, to the use and force of those strange characters; that he instituted many excellent orders and laws, made the distinction of seasons, the divisions of time, was an invincible warrior, a wise lawgiver, loved and obeyed during life by his subjects, and after his death adored as one of their three chief gods; amongst which he was the god of war, Thor of thunder and tempest, Frea of pleasure; by whose names, for an eternal memory, three days of the week are called.

I will not enter into his story, nor that of his succession, or the infinite and famous revolutions it produced in the world, nor into the more curious search of the time of his expedition, which must have been very ancient, and is thereby left doubted and undetermined; but if it be true that he was inventor of the Runic characters, some writers of that language will make him older than Evander, by affirming their Runic letters to have been more ancient than the Latin, which were first brought into Italy in his time. For my own part, I should guess, by all I have perused of those antiquities, that this expedition may have been made two thousand years ago, or thereabouts. So much is true, that the Runes were for long periods of time in use, upon materials more lasting than any others employed to that purpose; for instead of leaves, or barks, or wax, or parchments, these

were engraven upon stones or planks of oaks, upon artificial obelisks or pillars, and even upon natural rocks, in great numbers and extent of lines. But more of this Runic subject will occur upon that of poetry; and I shall only obsérve, among the constitutions of these northern people, three principles of a strain very extraordinary, and perhaps peculiar to themselves, and which extended very far into the fortunes and conquests of their arms, and into the force and duration of their kingdoms. The first of these is a principle of religion or superstition, the next of learning, and the last of policy or civil government.

Whether the first were deduced from that of Zamolxis among the Getes, styled of old immortals, or introduced by Odin among the western Goths, it is certain, that an opinion was fixed and general among them, that death was but the entrance into another life; that all men who lived lazy and unactive lives, and died natural deaths, by sickness or by age, went into vast caves under ground, all dark and miry, full of noisome creatures usual in such places, and there for ever grovelled in endless stench and misery. On the contrary, all who gave themselves to warlike actions and enterprises, to the conquests of their neighbours, and slaughter of enemies, and died in battle, or of violent deaths upon bold adventures or resolutions, they went immediately to the vast hall or palace of Odin, their god of war, who eternally kept open house for all such guests, where they were entertained at infinite tables, in perpetual feasts and mirth, carousing every man in bowls made of the skulls of their enemies they had slain, according to which numbers, every one in these mansions of pleasure was the most honoured and the best entertained.

How this opinion was printed in the minds of

these fierce mortals, and what effect it had upon their thoughts and passions concerning life and death, as it is touched elegantly in those verses of Lucan before recited, so it is lively represented in the twenty-fifth and twenty-ninth stanzas of that song or epicedium of Regner Ladbrog, one of their famous Kings, which he composed in the Runic language about eight hundred years ago, after he was mortally stung by a serpent, and before the venom seized upon his vitals. The whole sonnet is recited by Olaus Wormius, in his Literatura Runica (who has very much deserved from the commonwealth of learning), and is very well worth reading by any that love poetry, and to consider the several stamps of that coin according to several ages and climates. But that which is extraordinary in it is, that such an alacrity or pleasure in dying was never expressed in any other writing, nor imagined among any other people. The two stanzas are thus translated into Latin by Olaus:—

STANZA XXV.

Pugnavius ensibus,
Hoc ridere me facit semper
Quod Balderi patris scamna
Parata scio in aula,
Bibemus cerevisiam
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum,
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem
Magnifici in Odini domibus,
Non venio desperabundus
Verbis ad Othini aulam.

STANZA XXVI.

Fert animus finire,
Invitant me Dysæ
Quas ex Odini aula
Othinus mihi misit
Lætus cerevisiam cum Asis
In summa sede bibam,
Vitæ elapsæ sunt horæ,
Ridens moriar.

I am deceived, if in this sonnet, and a following ode of Scallogrim (which was likewise made by him after he was condemned to die, and deserved his pardon for a reward), there be not a vein truly poetical, and in its kind Pindaric, taking it with the allowance of the different climates, fashions, opinions, and languages of such distant countries.

I will not trouble myself with more passages out of these Runic poems, concerning this superstitious principle, which is so perfectly represented in these, with the possession it had taken of the noblest souls among them; for such this Ladbrog appears to have been, by his perpetual wars and victories in those northern continents, and in England, Scotland, and Ireland. But I will add a testimony of it, which was given me at Nimeguen, by Count Oxenstern, the first of the Swedish Ambassadors in that assembly. In discourse upon this subject and confirmation of this opinion having been general among the Goths of those countries, he told me there was still in Sweden a place which was a memorial of it, and was called Odin's Hall; that it was a great bay in the sea, encompassed on three sides with steep and ragged rocks; and that, in the time of the Gothic paganism, men that were either sick of diseases they esteemed mortal or incurable, or else grown invalid with age, and thereby past all military action, and fearing to die meanly and basely (as they esteemed it) in their beds, they usually caused themselves to be brought to the nearest part of these rocks, and from thence threw themselves down into the sea, hoping, by the boldness of such a violent death, to renew the pretence of admission in the hall of Odin, which they had lost, by failing to die in combat and by arms.

What effect such a principle (sucked in with instruction and education, and well believed) must

have upon the passions and actions of a people naturally strong and brave, is easy to conceive, and how far it went beyond all the strains of the boldest and firmest philosophy; for this reached no farther than constancy in death, or indifferency in the opinion of that or of life; but the other infused a scorn of life, and a desire of death; nay, fear and aversion even for a natural death, with pursuit and longing for a violent one (contrary to the general opinions of all other nations), so as they took delight in war and dangers, as others did in hunting, or such active sports, and fought as much for the hopes of death as of victory, and found as much pleasure in the supposed advantages and consequences of one, as in the real enjoyments of the other. This made them perpetually, in new motions or designs, fearless and fierce in the execution of them, and never caring in battle to preserve their lives longer than to increase the slaughter of their enemies, and thereby their own renown here, and felicity hereafter.

Their decisions of right and just were by arms, and mortal combats allowed by laws, approved by Princes, assisted by formal judges, and determined by death or victory. From hence came all those justs, and tiltings, and tournaments, so long in use, and so much celebrated in these parts of the world; their marriage-feasts were solemnized by lances and swords, by blows, by wounds, and sometimes by death, till that custom was disgraced by the deplorable end of Henry II. of France, and the fatal lance of Montgomery. From hence came the long use of legal and of single combats, when the right of titles or lands was difficult; or when a person, accused of any crime, denied absolutely what his accuser positively affirmed, and no other proof could on either side be produced. It is known in story, how long and how frequent this was in use

among all the Gothic races, and in the several kingdoms or principalities erected by them, even after the profession of Christianity among them. When it grew too infamous upon the entrance of learning and civility, and the laws were ashamed of allowing trials of blood and violence, yet the custom could not be extinguished, but made way for that of private duels, and for the lie being accounted a just ground of fighting in point of honour, because it had been so in point of law during the barbarous ages. This seems to have begun upon the famous challenge that passed between Charles V. and Francis I. which, though without effect, yet it is enough known and lamented, how much of the bravest blood of Christendom has been spilt by that example, especially in France, during the several succeeding reigns, till it seems to have been extinguished by the just severity, and to the just honour of the present King.

But to return to the bold authors of these customs (unknown to the Greek and Roman nations). Their bodies indeed were hard and strong, their minds rough and fierce, their numbers infinite, which was owing perhaps all to their climate. But, besides these advantages, their courage was undaunted, their business was war, their pleasures were dangers, their very sports were martial: their disputes and processes were decided by arms; they feared nothing but too long life, decays of age, and a natural or slothful death, any violent or bloody they desired and pursued; and all this from their opinion of one being succeeded by miseries, the other by felicities, of a future and a longer life.

For my own part, when I consider the force of this principle, I wonder not at the effects of it, their numerous conquests, nor immensity of countries they subdued, nor that such strange adventures should have been finished by such enchanted

men. But when Christianity, introduced among them, gave an end to these delusions, the restless humour of perpetual wars and actions was likewise allayed, and they turned their thoughts to the establishment of their several kingdoms, in the provinces they had subdued and chosen for their seats, and applied themselves to the orders and constitutions of their civil or political governments.

Their principle of learning was, that all they had among them was applied to the knowledge and distinction of seasons by the course of the stars, and to the prognostics of weather, or else to the praises of virtue, which consisted among them only in justice to their own nation and valour against their enemies; and the rest was employed in displaying the brave and heroic exploits of their princes and leaders, and the prowess and conquests of their nation: all their writings were composed in verse, which were called Runes or Viises, and from thence the term of wise came; and these poets or writers, being esteemed the sages among them, were as such always employed in the attendance upon their Princes, both in courts and camps, being used to advise in their conduct, and to record their actions, and celebrate their praises and triumphs. The traces of these customs have been seen within the compass of this very age, both in Hungary and Ireland, where at their feasts it was usual to have these kind of poets entertain the company with their rude songs, or panegyrics of their ancestors bold exploits; among which, the number of men that any of them had slain with their own hands was the chief ingredient in their praises. By these they rewarded the prowess of the old men among them, and inflamed the courage of the young, to equal the boldness and atchievements of those that had travelled before them in these paths of glory.

The principle of politic or civil government, in

these Northern nations, seems derived from that which was military among them. When a new swarm was upon the wing, they chose a Leader or General for the expedition, and at the same time, the chief officers to command the several divisions of their troops; these were a council of war to the General, with whom they advised in the whole progress of their enterprise; but upon great occasions, as a pitched battle, any military exploit of great difficulty and danger, the choice of a country to fix their seat, or the conditions of peace that were proposed, they assembled their whole troops, and consulted with all the soldiers or people they commanded. This Tacitus observes to have been in use among the German Princes in his time, to consult of smaller affairs with the chief officers, but *de majoribus omnes.*

If a leader of these colonies succeeded in his attempts, and conquered a new country, where, by common consent, they thought fit to reside, he grew a Prince of that country while he lived; and when he died, another was chosen to succeed him by a general election. The lands of the subdued territory were divided into greater and smaller shares, besides that reserved to the Prince and government. The great were given to the chief officers of the army, who had best deserved and were most esteemed; the smaller to the common or private soldiers. The natives conquered were wholly despoiled of their lands, and reckoned but as slaves by the conquerors, and so used for labour and servile offices, and those of the conquering nation were the freemen. The great sharers, as chief officers, continued to be the council of the Prince in matters of state, as they had been before in matters of war; but in the great affairs, and of common concernment, all that had the smaller shares in land were assembled and advised with. The first great

shares were, in process of time, called baronies, and the small, fees.

I know very well how much critic has been employed, by the most learned, as Erasmus, Selden, Spelman, as well as many others, about the two words *Baro* and *Feudum*, and how much pains have been taken to deduce them from the Latin, Greek, and even the Hebrew and Egyptian tongues; but I find no reason, after all they have said, to make any doubt of their having been both the original of the Gothic or Northern language; or of Baron having been a term of dignity, of command, or of honour, among them; and Feudum, of a soldier's share of land. I find the first used above eight hundred years ago, in the verses mentioned of King Lodbrog, when one of his exploits was, to have conquered eight Barons. And though fees or feuda, were in use under later Roman Emperors, yet they were derived from the Gothic customs, after so great numbers of those nations were introduced into the Roman armies, and employed, upon the decline of that empire, against other more barbarous invasions. For, of all the Northern nations, the Goths were esteemed the most civil, orderly, and virtuous; and are for such commended by St. Austin and Salvian, who makes their conquests to have been given them by the justice of God, as a reward of their virtue, and a punishment upon the Roman provinces for the viciousness and corruptions of their lives and governments. So as it is no wonder if many Gothic words and customs entered early into the Roman empire.

As to the word *Baro*, it is not, that I find, at all agreed among the learned, from whence to derive it, and the objections raised against their several conjectures, seem better grounded than the arguments for any of them. But what that term imported, is, out of their several accounts, easy to

collect, and confirmed by what still remains in all the constitutions of the Gothic governments. For, though by Barons are now meant, in England, such as are created by patent, and thereby called to the house of Lords; and Baron, in Spanish, signifies only a man of note or worth; and the quality denoted by that title be different in the several countries of Christendom; yet there is no question but they were originally such persons as, upon the conquest of a country, were by the conquering Prince invested in the possession of certain tracts or proportions of free lands, or at least such as they held by no other tenure but that of military service, or attendance upon the Prince in his wars, with a certain number of armed men. These in Germany, France, Scotland, seem to have had, and some still to retain, a sovereign power in their territories, by the exercise of what is called high and low justice, or the power of judging criminal as well as civil causes, and inflicting capital punishments among those that held under them, either as vassals or in fee. But I have not met with any thing of this kind recorded in England, though the great Barons had not only great numbers of Knights, but even petty Barons, holding under them.

I think the whole realm of England was by William the Conqueror divided into baronies, however the distinctions may have been long since worn out: but in Ireland they still remain, and every country there is divided into so many baronies, which seem to have been the shares of the first Barons. And such as these great proprietors of land composed, in all these northwest regions, one part in the States of the country or kingdom.

Now for the word Barons, though it be a presumption to assert any thing after the doubts or unresolved disputes of such learned men; yet I shall adventure to give my own opinion, how different soever from any that has been yet advanced.

I find in Guagnini's description of Sarmatia, printed in the year 1581, that in the several dukedoms, palatinates, or principalities, which then composed the mighty empire of Muscovy, those persons who were the chief in possessions of lands, offices, or dignities among them, next to the Prince, Duke, or Palatine, were by one common appellation called his Boiarons, as those of the same sort or quality in the present Court of the Great Dukes are now termed his Boiars, which may be a corrupt or particular dialect from the other. Now I think it is obvious to any man, that tries how easy a change is made in the contraction of Boiarons into Barons, which is but of the two first syllables into one, and that with an A long, as Barons is commonly used: and those countries above mentioned having been the seats of our conquering Goths, I am apt to think their Boiarons grew, with their conquests, to be the original Barons in all those several nations or dominions where they were extended.

From the divisions, forms, and institutions already deduced, will naturally arise and plainly appear the frame and constitution of the Gothic government, which was peculiar to them, and different from all before known or observed in story; but so universal among these Northern nations, that it was under the names of King, or Prince, or Duke, and his estates, established in all parts of Europe, from the north-east of Poland and Hungary to the south-west of Spain and Portugal, though these vast countries had been subdued by so many several expeditions of these Northern people, at such diverse times, and under so different appellations, and it seems to have been invented or instituted by the sages of the Goths, as a government of freemen, which was the spirit or character of the North-west nations, distinguishing them from those of the South and the East, and gave the name of the Francs among them.

I need say nothing of this constitution, which is so well known in our island, and was anciently the same with ours in France and Spain, as well as Germany and Sweden, where it still continues, consisting of a King or a Prince, who is sovereign both in peace and war, of an assembly of Barons (as they were originally called), whom he uses as his council, and another of the commons, who are the representative of all that are possessed of free-lands, whom the Prince assembles and consults with, upon the occasions or affairs of the greatest and common concern to the nation. I am apt to think that the possession of land was the original right of election or representative among the commons, and that cities and boroughs were entitled to it, as they were possessed of certain tracts of land, that belonged or were annexed to them. And so it is still in Friezland, the seat from whence our Gothic or Saxon ancestors came into these islands. For the ancient seat of the Gothic kingdom was of small or no trade; nor England in their time. Their humours and lives were turned wholly to arms; and, long after the Norman conquest, all the trade of England was driven by Jews, Lombards, or Milaners; so as the right of boroughs seem not to have risen from regards of trade, but of land, and were places where so many freemen inhabited together, and had such a proportion of land belonging to them. However it be, this constitution has been celebrated, as framed with great wisdom and equity, and as the truest and justest temper that has been ever found out between dominion and liberty; and it seems to be a strain of what Heraclitus said was the only skill or knowledge of any value in the politics, which was the secret of governing all by all.

This seems to have been intended by these Gothic constitutions, and by the election and re-

presentation of all that possessed lands: for, since a country is composed of the land it contains, they esteemed a nation to be so, of such as were the possessors of it. And what Prince soever can hit of this great secret, needs know no more, for his own safety and happiness, and that of the people he governs. For no state or government can ever be much troubled or endangered by any private factions, which is grounded upon the general consent and satisfaction of the subjects, unless it be wholly subdued by the force of armies; and then the standing armies have the place of subjects, and the government depends upon the contented or discontented humours of the soldiers in general, which has more sudden and fatal consequences upon the revolutions of state, than those of subjects in unarmed governments. So the Roman, Egyptian, and Turkish empires appear to have always turned upon the arbitrary wills and wild humours of the Prætorian bands, the Mamalukes, and the Janizaries. And so I pass from the Scythian conquests and Gothic constitutions, to those of the Arabians or Mahometans, in the world.

SECTION V.

The last survey I proposed of the four outlying (or, if the learned so please to call them, barbarous) empires, was that of the Arabians, which was indeed of a very different nature from all the rest, being built upon foundations wholly enthusiastic, and thereby very unaccountable to common reason, and in many points contrary even to human nature; yet few others have made greater conquests or more sudden growths, than this Arabian or Saracen empire; but having been of later date, and the course of it engaged in perpetual

wars with the Christian Princes, either of the East or West, of the Greek or the Latin churches, both the original and progress of it have been easily observed, and are most vulgarly known, having been the subject of many modern writers, and several well-digested histories or relations; and therefore I shall give but a very summary account of both.

About the year 600, or near it, lived Mahomet, a man of mean parentage and condition, illiterate, but of great spirit and subtle wit, like those of the climate or country where he was born or bred, which was that part of Arabia called the Happy, esteemed the loveliest and sweetest region of the world, and like those blessed seats so finely painted by the poet:

> Quas neque concutiunt venti, neque nubila nimbis
> Aspergunt, neque nix acri concreta pruinâ
> Cana cadens violat, semperque innubilus æther
> Contegit, et late diffuso lumine ridet.

He was servant to a rich merchant of this country, and after his master's death, having married his widow, came to be possessed of great wealth, and of a numerous family. Among others, he had entertained in it a Sergian monk, or at least called by that name, whose vicious and libertine dispositions of life had made him leave his inclosure and profession, but otherwise a man of great learning. Mahomet was subject to fits of an epilepsy or falling-sickness, and, either by the customs of that climate, or the necessity of that disease, very temperate and abstaining from wine, but in the rest voluptuous and dissolute. He was ashamed of his disease, and, to disguise it from his wife and family, pretended his fits were trances into which he was cast at certain times by God Almighty, and in them instructed in his will, and his true worship

and laws, by which he would be served; and that he was commanded to publish them to the world, to teach them, and see them obeyed.

About this age all the Christian provinces of the East were over-run with Arianism, which, however refined or disguised by its learned professors and advocates, either denied or undermined the divinity of Christ, and allowed only his prophetical office. The countries of Arabia and Egypt were filled with great numbers of the scattered Jews, who, upon the last destruction of their country in Adrian's time, had fled into these provinces to avoid the ruin and even extinction which was threatening their nation by that Emperor, who, after all the desolations he made in Judea, transported what he could of their remaining numbers into Spain. The rest of Arabia and Egypt was inhabited by Gentiles, who had little sense left of their decayed and derided idolatry, and had turned their thoughts and lives to luxury and pleasure, and to the desires and acquisition of riches, in order to those ends. Mahomet, to humour and comply with these three sorts of men, and by the assistance of the monk his only confident, framed a scheme of religion he thought likely to take in, or at least not to shock, the common opinions and dispositions of them all, and yet most agreeable to his own temper and designs.

He professed one God, creator of the world, and who governed all things in it. That God had in ancient times sent Moses, his first and great prophet, to give his laws to mankind, but that they were neither received by the Gentiles, nor obeyed by the Jews themselves, to whom he was more peculiarly sent. That this was the occasion of the misfortunes and captivities that so often befell them. That in the latter ages he had sent Christ, who was the second prophet, and greater than

Moses, to preach his laws and observation of them in greater purity, but to do it with gentleness, patience, and humility, which had found no better reception or success among men than Moses had done. That for this reason God had now sent his last and greatest prophet, Mahomet, to publish his laws and commands with more power; to subdue those to them by force and violence who should not willingly receive them; and for this end to establish a kingdom upon earth that should propagate this divine law and worship throughout the world: that, as God had designed utter ruin and destruction to all that refused them, so, to those that professed and obeyed them, he had given the spoils and possessions of his and their enemies, as a reward in this life, and had provided a paradise hereafter, with all sensual enjoyments, especially of beautiful women, new created for that purpose, but with more transcendent degrees of pleasure and felicity to those that should die in the pursuit and propagation of them through the rest of the world, which should in time submit or be subdued under them. These, with the severe prohibition of drinking wine, and the principle of predestination, were the first and chief doctrines and institutions of Mahomet, and which were received with great applause and much confluence of Arians, Jews, and Gentiles in those parts; some contributing to the rise of his kingdom by the belief of his divine mission and authority; many, by finding their chief principles or religious opinions contained or allowed in them; but most, by their voluptuousness and luxury, their passions of avarice, ambition, and revenge, being thereby complied with. After his fits or trances, he writ the many several parts or chapters of his Alcoran, as newly inspired and dictated from heaven, and left in them that which to us, and in its translations, looks like a

wild fanatic rhapsody of his visions or dreams, or rather of his fantastical imaginations and inventions, but has ever passed among all his followers as a book sacred and divine; which shews the strange difference of conceptions among men.

To be short, this contagion was so violent, that it spread from Arabia into Egypt and Syria, and his power increased with such a sudden growth as well as his doctrine, that he lived to see them overspread both those countries and a great part of Persia; the decline of the old Roman empire making easy way for the powerful ascent of this new comet, that appeared with such wonder and terror in the world, and with a flaming sword made way wherever it came, or laid all desolate that opposed it.

Mahomet left two branches of his race for succession, which was in both esteemed divine among his Mussulmans or followers: the one was continued in the Caliphs of Persia, and the other of Egypt and Arabia. Both these, under the common appellation of Saracens, made mighty and wonderful progress, the one to the East, and the other to the West.

The Roman empire, or rather the remainders of it, seated at Constantinople, and afterwards called the Greek, was, for some times past, most cruelly infested, and in many parts shaken to pieces, by the invasions or incursions of many barbarous Northern nations, and thereby disabled from any vigorous opposition to this new and formidable enemy. Besides, the divisions among Christians made way for their conquests, and the great increase of proselytes, in this new religion. The Arians, persecuted in the eastern provinces by some of the Greek Emperors (of the same faith with the Western or Roman Church), made easy turns to the Mahometan doctrines, that professed

Christ to have been so great and so divine a prophet, which was all in a manner that they themselves allowed him. The cruel persecutions of the other Grecian Princes against those Christians that would not admit the use of images, made great numbers of them go over to the Saracens, who abhorred that worship as much as themselves. The Jews were allured by the profession of unity in the Godhead, which they pretended not to find in the Christian faith, and by the great honour that was paid by the Saracens to Moses, as a prophet and a lawgiver sent immediately from God into the world. The Pagans met with an opinion of the old Gentilism in that of predestination, which was the Stoic principle, and that whereinto unhappy men commonly fell, and sought for refuge in the uncertain conditions or events of life, under tyrannical and cruel governments. So, as some Roman authors observe, that the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero made more Stoics in Rome than the precepts of Zeno, Chrysippus, and Cleanthes.

The great extent and power of the Persian branch or empire continued long among the Saracens, but was over-run at length by the Turks first, and then by the Tartars under Tamerlane, whose race continued there till the time of Ishmael, from whom the present Sophies are derived. This Ishmael was an enthusiast, or at least a pretender to new relations in the Mahometan religion. He professed to reform both their doctrines and their manners, and taught, that Haly alone, of Mahomet's followers, ought to be owned and believed as his true successor, which made the Persians ever since esteem the Turks for heretics, as the Turks do them. He gained so many followers, by his new and refined principles or professions of devotions, that he made himself King of Persia, by the same way that the Xeriffs came to be Kings of

Morocco and Fez, about Charles Vth's time, and Cromwell to be Protector of England, and Oran Zeb to be Great Mogul in our age, which were the four great dominions of the fanatic strain.

The Arabian branch of the Saracen empire, after a long and mighty growth in Egypt and Arabia, seems to have been at its height under the great Almanzor, who was the illustrious and renowned hero of this race, and must be allowed to have as much excelled, and as eminently, in learning, virtue, piety, and native goodness, as in power, in valour, and in empire. Yet this was extended from Arabia, through Egypt, and all the northern tracts of Africa, as far as the Western Ocean, and over all the considerable provinces of Spain. For it was in his time, and by his victorious ensigns, that the Gothic kingdom in Spain was conquered, and the race of those famous Princes ended in Rodrigo. All that country was reduced under the Saracen empire (except the mountains of Leon and Oviedo), and were afterwards divided into several Moorish kingdoms, whereof some lasted to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. Nay, the Saracen forces, after the conquest of Spain, invaded the southern parts of France, and proceeded with the same success as far as Tours, till they were beaten and expelled by Charles Martel, who, by those exploits, raised his renown so high, as to give him the ambition of leaving the kingdom of France to his own line, in Pepin and Charlemain, by the deposition and extinction of the first race, which had lasted from Pharamond.

I do not remember ever to have read a greater and a nobler character of any Prince, than of this great Almanzor, in some Spanish authors, or translators of his story out of the Arabian tongue, wherein the learning then remaining in the world flourished most; and that of ancient Greece, as

it had been translated into their language, so it seems to have been, by the acuteness and excellency of those more southern wits, in some parts very much improved.

This kingdom continued great under the Caliphs of Egypt, who, degenerating from the example and virtues of Almanzor, came to be hated of their subjects, and to secure themselves from them, by a mighty guard of Circassian slaves. These were brought young from the country now called Mengrelia, between the Euxine and Caspian seas, the antient seat of the Amazons, and which has, in past and present times, been observed to produce the bravest bodies of men, and most beautiful of women, in all the eastern regions. These slaves were called Mamalucs when they came into Egypt, and were brought up with care, and in all exercises and discipline, that might render them the most martial troops or bands of soldiers that could any where be composed, and so they proved. The commander of this mighty band or guard of Mamalucs was called their Sultan, who was absolute over them, as the general of an army is in time of war. They served, for some time, to support the government of the Caliphs, and enslave the Egyptians, till one of the Sultans, finding his own power, and the general disesteem wherein the Caliph was fallen by the effeminate softness or luxury of his life, deposed him first, then slew him, and took upon himself the government of Egypt, under the name of Sultan, and reigned by the sole force and support of his Mamaluc troops, which were continually increased by the merchandise and transportation of Circassian slaves. This government lasted, with great terror in Egypt, between two and three hundred years, during which time the new Sultans were elected, upon the death or deposing of the old, by the choice of

the Mamalucs, and always out of their own bands. The sons of the deceased Sultans enjoyed the estates and riches left by their fathers; but, by the constitutions of the government, no son of a Sultan was ever either to succeed, or even to be elected Sultan; so that in this, contrary to all others ever known in the world, to be born of a Prince was a certain and unalterable exclusion from the kingdom; and none was ever to be chosen Sultan that had not been actually sold for a slave, brought from Circassia, and trained up a private soldier in the Mamaluc bands. Yet of so base metal were formed several men who made mighty figures in their age, and no nation made so brave a resistance against the growing empire of the Turks, as these Mamalucs did under their Sultans, till they were conquered by Selim, after a long war, which looked in story like the combat of some fierce tiger with a savage boar, while the country that is wasted by them are lookers on, and little concerned under whose dominion and cruelty they fall.

It is not well agreed among authors, whether the Turks were first called into Asia by the Greek or the Persian Emperors; but it is by all, that, falling down in great numbers, they revolted from the assistance of their friends, set up for themselves, embraced the Mahometan religion, and improved the principles of that sect; by new orders and inventions (cast wholly for conquest and extent of empire) they framed a kingdom, which, under the Ottoman race, subdued both the Greek empire, and that of the Arabians, and rooted itself in all those vast dominions as it continues to this day, with the addition of many other provinces to their kingdom, but yet many more to the Mahometan belief. So this empire of the Turks, like a fresh graft upon one branch of a vigorous stock, cover-

ed wholly upon that which it was grafted, and outgrew, in time, the other which was natural, as the Persian branch.

The chief principles, upon which this fierce government was founded and raised to such a height, were first those of Mahomet, already deduced, which, by their sensual paradise and predestination, were great incentives of courage and of enterprise, joined to the spoils of the conquered, both in their lands, their goods, and their liberties, which were all seized at the pleasure of the conqueror.

A second was, a belief infused of divine designation of the Ottoman line, to reign among them for extent of their territories, and propagation of their faith. This made him esteemed, at least by adoption, as a successor of Mahomet, and both a sovereign lawgiver in civil and (with the assistance of his mufti) a supreme judge in all religious matters. And this principle was so far improved among these people, that they held obedience to be given in all things to the will of their Ottoman Prince, as to the will of God, by whom they thought him designed; and that they were bound not only to obey his commands with any hazard of their lives against enemies, but even by laying down their own whenever he commanded, and with the same resignation that is by others thought due to the decrees of destiny, or the will and pleasure of Almighty God. This gives such an abandoned submission to all the frequent and cruel executions among them by the Emperor's command, though upon the mere turns of his own humour, the suggestions of the ministers, or the flatteries and revenges of those women he most trusteth, or loveth best.

A third was, the division of all lands in conquered countries into timariots or soldiers shares,

besides what was reserved and appropriated to the Emperor; and these shares being only at pleasure, or for life, leave him the sole Lord of all lands in his dominion, which, by the common supposition of power following land, must, by consequence, leave him the most absolute of any sovereign in the world.

A fourth, the allowance of no honours nor charges, no more than lands, to be hereditary, but all to depend upon the will of the Prince. This applies every man's ambition and avarice to court his present humour, serve his present designs, and obey his commands, of how different nature soever they are, and how frequently changed.

A fifth was, the suppression, and, in a manner, extinction, of all learning, among the subjects of their whole empire, at least the natural Turks and Janizaries, in whom the strength of it consists. This ignorance makes way for the most blind obedience, which is often shaken by disputes concerning religion and government, liberty and dominion, and other arguments of that or some such nature.

A sixth was, the institution of that famous order of the Janizaries, than which a greater strain of true and deep politic will hardly be observed in any constitution. This consisted in the arbitrary choice of such Christian children, throughout their dominions, as were esteemed most fit for the Emperor's peculiar service; and the choice was made by the shows or promises of the greatest growth or strength of body, vigour of constitution, and boldness of courage. These were taken into the Emperor's care, and trained up in certain colleges, or chambers, as they are called, and by officers for that purpose, who endeavoured to improve all they could the advantages of nature by those of education and of discipline. They were all diligently

instructed in the Mahometan religion, and in the veneration of the Ottoman race. Such of them as proved weak of body, slothful, or pusillanimous, were turned to labour in gardens, buildings, or drudgeries of the palace; but all that were fit for military service, were, at a certain age, entered into the body of Janizaries, who were the Emperor's guards.

By this means, the number of Christians was continually lessened throughout the empire, and weakened by the loss of such as were like to prove the bravest and strongest of their races. That of Musselmans was increased in the same proportions, and a mighty body of chosen men kept up perpetually in discipline and pay, who esteemed themselves not only as subjects or slaves, but even pupils and domestic servants of the Grand Seignor's person and family.

A seventh was, the great temperance introduced into the general customs of the Turks, but more particularly of the Janizaries, by the severe defence and abstinence of wine, and by the provision of one only sort of food for their armies, which was rice. Of this grain, as every man is able to carry, upon occasion, enough for several days, so the quantity provided for every expedition is but according to the number, with no distinction for the quality of men; so that, upon a march, or in a camp, a colonel has no more allowed him than a private soldier. Nor are any but general officers encumbered with train or baggage, which gives them mighty advantages in their German wars, among whom every officer has a family in proportion to his command during the campania, as well as in his quarters; and the very soldiers used to carry their wives with them into the field; whereas a Turkish army consists only of fighting men.

The last I shall mention, is the speediness as well

as severity of their justice both civil and military, which, though often subject thereby to mistakes, and deplored by the complaints and calamities of innocent persons; yet it is maintained upon this principle fixed among them, 'That it is better two innocent men should die, than one guilty live.' And this indeed agrees with the whole cast or frame of their empire, which seems to have been, in all points, the fiercest, as that of the Yncas was the gentlest, that of China the wisest, and that of the Goths the bravest, in the world.

The growth and progress of this Turkish empire, under the Ottoman race, was so sudden and so violent, the two or three first centuries, that it raised fear and wonder throughout the world; but seems at a stand for these last hundred years, having made no conquest since that of Hungary, except the remainder of Candia, after a very long war so bravely maintained by the small Venetian State against so mighty powers. The reason of this may be drawn not only from the periods of empire, that, like natural bodies, grow for a certain time, and to a certain size, which they are not to exceed; but from some other causes, both within and without, which seem obvious enough.

The first, a neglect in the observance of some of these orders, which were essential to the constitutions of their government. For after the conquests of Cyprus, and the example of Selim's intemperance in those and other wines, that custom and humour prevailed against their laws of abstinence, in that point so severely enjoined by Mahomet, and so long observed among all his followers. And, though the Turks and Janizaries endeavoured to avoid the scandal and punishment by drinking in private, yet they felt the effects in their bodies and in their humours, whereof the last needs no inflaming among such hot tempers, and their

bodies are weakened by this intemperance, joined to their abandoned luxury in point of women.

Besides, the institution of Janizaries has been much altered by the corruption of officers, who have long suffered the Christians to buy off that tribute of their children, and the Turks to purchase the preferment of theirs into that order for money; by which means the choice of this militia is not made from the strongest and most warlike bodies of men, but from the purses of the parents or friends.

These two distempers have produced another, much greater and more fatal than both, which is the mutinous humour of this body of Janizaries, who, finding their own strength, began to make what changes they pleased in the State, till, having been long flushed with the blood of the Bashas and Viziers, they made bold at last with that of their Princes themselves; and having deposed and strangled Ibrahim, they set up his son, the present Emperor, then a child. But the distemper ended not there; they fell into new factions, changed and murdered several Viziers, and divided into so powerful parties, and with so fierce contentions, that the Bassa of Aleppo, with an army of an hundred thousand men, set up for himself (though under pretence of a counterfeit son of Morat) and caused such a convulsion in this mighty State, that the Ottoman race had ended, if this bold adventurer had not, upon confidence in the faith of a treaty, been surprised and strangled by order of old Cuperly, then newly come to be Grand Vizier, and absolute in the government. This man entering the ministry at fourscore years old, cruel by nature, and hardened by age, to allay the heat of blood in that distempered body of the Janizaries, and the other troops, cut off near forty thousand of them in three years time by private, sudden, and violent executions, without form of laws

or trials, or hearing any sorts of pleas or defences. His son, succeeding in the place of Grand Vizier, found the empire so dispirited by his father's cruelty, and the militia remaining so spited and distempered, breathing new commotions and revenges, that he diverted the humour by an easy war upon the Venetians, Transilvanians, or the remainders of Hungary, till by temper and conduct he had closed the wounds which his father had left bleeding, and restored the strength of the Ottoman empire to that degree, that the succeeding Vizier invaded Germany, though against the faith of treaties, or of a truce not expired, and at last besieged Vienna, which is a story too fresh and too known to be told here.

Another reason has been the neglect of their marine affairs, or of their former greatness at sea, so as, for many years, they hardly pretend to any successes on that element, but commonly say, that God has given the earth to the Mussulmans, and the sea to the Christians.

The last I shall observe is the excessive use of opium, with which they seek to repair the want of wine, and to divert their melancholy reflections upon the ill condition of their fortunes and lives, ever uncertain, and depending upon the will or caprice of the Grand Seignor's or of the Grand Vizier's humour and commands. But the effect of this opium is very transitory; and, though it allays for the present all melancholy fumes and thoughts, yet, when the operation is past, they return again, which makes the use of it so often repeated; and nothing more dispirits and enervates both the body and the mind of those that frequently use it.

The external reason of the stand made this last century in the growth of the Turkish empire, seems to have been their having before extended

it till they came to such strong bars as were not to be broken; for they were grown to border upon the Persian empire to the East, upon the Tartars to the North, upon the Æthiopians to the South, and upon the German empire to the West, and turned their prospect this way, as the easiest and most plausible, being against a Christian state.

Now this empire of Germany, consisting of such large territories, such numbers and bodies of warlike men, when united in any common cause or quarrel, seems as strongly constituted for defence, as the Turkish is for invasion or conquest. For being composed of many civil and moderate governments, under legal Princes or free states, the subjects are all fond of their liberties and laws, and abhor the falling under any foreign or arbitrary dominions, and in such a common cause seem to be invincible. On the contrary, the Turkish territories being all enslaved, and thereby in a manner desolated, have no force but that of their standing armies, and their people in general care not either for the progress of their victories abroad, nor even for the defence of their own countries, since they are sure to lose nothing, but may hope reasonably to gain by any change of master or of government, which makes that empire the worst constituted that can be for defence upon any great misfortune to their armies.

The effect of these two different constitutions had been seen and felt (in all probability) to the wonder of the whole world, in these late revolutions, if the divine decrees had not crossed all human appearances. For the Grand Vizier might certainly have taken Vienna before the confederate Princes could have united for its relief, if the opinion of vast treasures (there assembled for shelter from all the adjacent parts) had not given him a passionate desire to take the town by com-

position rather than by storm, which must have left all its wealth a prey to the soldiers, and not to the General.

If the Turks had possessed this bulwark of Christendom, I do not conceive what could have hindered them from being masters immediately of Austria, and all its depending provinces; nor, in another year, of all Italy, or of the southern provinces of Germany, as they should have chosen to carry on their invasion, or of both in two or three years time; and how fatal this might have been to the rest of Christendom, or how it might have enlarged the Turkish dominions, is easy to conjecture.

On the other side, after the defeat of the Grand Vizier's army, his death, and that of so many brave Bashas and other Captains, by the usual humour and faction of that bloody court; after such slaughters of the Janizaries, in so many encounters, and such an universal discouragement of their troops, that could no where withstand the German arms and bravery; if, upon the taking of Belgrade, the Emperor had been at the head of the forces then in his service, united under one great commander, and without dependence upon the several Princes by whom they were raised, I do not see what could have hindered them from conquering all before them in that open country of Bulgaria and Romania, nor from taking Constantinople itself, upon the course of an easy war, in such a decline of the Turkish empire, with so weak and dispirited troops as those that remained, a treasure so exhausted, a Court so divided, and such a general consternation as appeared in that great and tumultuous city upon these occasions.

But God Almighty had not decreed any so great revolution, either for the ruin or advantage of Christendom, and seems to have left both empires

at a bay, and not likely to make any great enterprises on either side, but rather to fall into the designs of a peace, which may probably leave Hungary to the possession as well as right of the house of Austria, and the Turks in a condition of giving no great fears or dangers, in our age, to the rest of Christendom.

Although the Mahometan empires were not raised, like others, upon the foundations or by the force of heroic virtue, but rather by the practices of a subtle man, upon the simplicity of credulous people; yet the growth of them has been influenced by several Princes, in whom some beams at least of that sun have shined; such as Almanzor, Saladine, Ottoman, and Solyman the Great. And, because I have named the most heroic persons of that sect, it will be but justice to nobler nations to mention at the same time those who appear to have shined the brightest in their several ages or countries, and the lustre of whose virtues, as well as greatness, has been sullied with the fewest noted blemishes or defaults; and who, for deserving well of their own countries by their actions, and of mankind by their examples, have eternized their memories in the true records of fame, which is ever just to the dead, how partial soever it may be to the living, from the forced applauses of power, or fulsome adulations of servile men.

Such as these were among the ancient Grecians, Epaminondas, Pericles, and Agesilaus. Of the old Roman state, the first Scipio, Marcellus, and Paulus Æmilius. Of the Roman Emperors, Augustus, Trajan, and Marcus Antoninus. Among the Goths, Alaric and Theodoric. Of the Western Emperors, Charlemain, Frederic Barbarossa, and Charles V. Of the French nation, Pharamond, Charles Martel, and Henry IV. who began three

of their noblest races. Of the Swedes, Gustavus Adolphus. And of our own, Richard I. the Black Prince, and Harry V. To these I may add seven famous Captains, or smaller Princes, whose exploits and virtues may justly allow them to be ranked with so great Kings and Emperors. Ætius and Bellisarius, the two last great commanders of the Roman armies, after the division and decay of that mighty state, who did set up the last trophies, and made the bravest defences against the numbers and fury of those barbarous nations that invaded, and, after their time, tore in pieces that whole empire. George Castriot, commonly called Scanderbeg, Prince of Epire, and Huniades, Viceroy of Hungaria, who were two most victorious Captains, and excellent men, the true champions of Christendom whilst they lived, and terror of the Turks, who, with small forces, held at bay, for so many years, all the powers of the Ottoman empire. Ferdinand Gonzalvo, that noble Spaniard, worthily sirnamed the Great Captain, who, by his sole prowess and conduct conquered a crown for his master which he might have worn for himself, if his ambition had been equal to his courage and virtues. William, Prince of Orange, who restored the Belgic liberties, and was the founder of their State, esteemed generally the best and wisest Commander of his age, and who, at the sudden point of his death, as well as in the course of his life, gave such testimonies of his being a true lover of the people and country he governed. Alexander Fernese, Prince of Parma, who by his wisdom, courage, and justice, recovered ten of the seventeen provinces, that were in a manner lost to the Crown of Spain; made two famous expeditions for relief of his confederates into the heart of France, and seemed to revive the ancient

Roman virtue and discipline in the world, and to bring the noble genius of Italy to appear once more upon the stage.

Whoever has a mind to trace the paths of heroic virtue, which lead to the temple of true honour and fame, need seek them no further than in the stories and examples of those illustrious persons here assembled. And so I leave this crown of never-fading laurel, in full view of such great and noble spirits as shall deserve it, in this or in succeeding ages. Let them win it and wear it.

SECTION VI.

Upon the survey of all the great actions and revolutions, occasioned in the world by the conquest and progresses of these four mighty empires, as well as the other four, so much renowned in story, it may not be impertinent to reflect upon the causes of conquests as well as the effects, and deduce them from their natural sources, as far as they can be discovered, though, like those of great rivers, they are usually obscure or taken little notice of until their streams, increasing by the influence of many others, make so mighty inundations, as to grow famous in the stories as well as maps of the world.

To this end I shall observe three things upon the general course of conquests, the most renowned and best recorded, in what remains of ancient as well as modern histories.

First, that they have generally proceeded from North to South, so as we find none besides those of the Saracens that can be said to have sailed the contrary course, and those were animated by another spirit, which was the Mahometan persuasion of predestination, that made them careless of their

lives, and thereby fearless of dangers. For all the rest, they have run the course before mentioned, unless we should admit the traditions, rather than relations, of the conquests of Sesostris, who is reported by the ancients to have subdued all, from Egypt to the river Tanais: but this we may not allow for truth, because it must have preceded the reign of Ninus, and so disagree with the chronology of Holy Scripture; and therefore it must be exploded for fabulous, with other relics of ancient story, as the Scythians having subdued and possessed Asia so many hundred years before the empire of Ninus, and their wives having given so ancient a beginning to the famous kingdom of the Amazons, whereof some remnants only are said to have remained in Alexander's time; yet the fame was then believed, of their having anciently extended their dominion over all the Lesser Asia, as well as Armenia, and of their having founded the famous temple of Diana at Ephesus, which is the more probable, from that appellation of Taurica that was anciently given her.

But the great conquests, recorded and undisputed in story, have been of the Assyrians southwards, as far as Arabia and India. Of the Persians, from the Caspian sea, to the utmost extent of the preceding empire and of Egypt. Of the Macedonians over Greece, and all the bounds of the Persian kingdom. Of the Romans over the Greek empire as far as Parthia eastward; and over Sicily, Spain, and Afric to the south, before the progress of their arms towards the north-west. Of the Tartars over all China and India. And of the Goths and other northern nations over all the more southern provinces of Europe.

The second observation I shall make upon the subject of victory and conquest is, that they have generally been made by the smaller numbers over

the greater, against which I do not remember any exception in all the famous battles registered in story, excepting that of Tamerlane and Bajazet, whereof the first is said to have exceeded about a fourth part in number, though they were so vast on both sides, that they were not very easy to be well accounted. For the rest, the number of the Persians with Cyrus were small to those of the Assyrians: those of the Macedonians were, in no battle against the Persians, above forty thousand men, though sometimes against three, four, or six hundred thousand. The Athenian army little exceeded ten thousand, and, fighting for the liberties of their country, beat above sixscore thousand Persians at Marathon. The Lacedæmonians, in all the famous exploits of that state, never had above twelve thousand Spartans in the field at a time, and seldom above twenty thousand men with their allies*. The Romans ever fought with smaller against greater numbers, unless in the battles of Cannæ and Thrasimene, which were the only famous ones they lost against foreign enemies; and Cæsar's army at Pharsalia, as well as in Gaul and Germany, were in no proportion to those he conquered. That of Marius was not above forty thousand against three hundred thousand Cimbers. The famous victories of Ætius and Bellisarius, against the barbarous northern nations, were with mighty disproportion of numbers, as likewise the first victories of the Turks upon the Persian kingdom; of the Tartars upon the Chineses: and Scanderbeg never saw together above sixteen thousand men, in all the renowned victories he atchieved against the Turks, though in numbers sometimes above an hundred thousand.

* And yet they are recorded never to have asked how many their enemies were, but only where they were.

To descend to later times, the English victories so renowned at Cressy, Poitiers, and Agencourt, were gained with disadvantages of numbers out of all proportion. The great atchievements of Charles VIII. in Italy, of Henry IV. in France, and of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany, were ever performed with smaller against greater numbers. In this age, and among all the exploits that have so justly raised the reputation and honour of Monsieur Turenne for the greatest Captain of his time, I do not remember any of them were atchieved without disadvantage of number: and the late defeat of the Turks at the siege of Vienna, which saved Christendom, and has eternized the name of the Duke of Lorrain, was too fresh and great an example of this assertion, to need any more, or leave it in dispute.

From these two principles of conquest, having proceeded from the north to the south, and by smaller over greater numbers, we may conclude that they may be attributed to the constitutions of men's bodies who compose the armies that atchieve them, or to the dispositions of their minds. The first of these may be either native or habituate, and the latter may be either natural or infused. It is without question the northern bodies are greater and stronger than the southern, and also more healthy and more vigorous; the reason whereof is obvious to every man's conjecture, both from the common effects of air upon appetites and digestion, and from the roughness of the soil, which forces them upon labour and hardship. Now the true original greatness of any kingdom or nation may be accounted by the number of strong and able bodies of their native subjects. This is the natural strength of government, all the rest is art, discipline, or institution.

The next ingredient into the composition of

conquering forces is fearlesness of mind, whether it be occasioned by the temper of the climate, or race of which men are born, or by custom, which inures men to be insensible of danger, or by passions or opinions that are raised in them; for they may all have the same effect. We see the very beasts and birds of some countries, as well as the men, are naturally fearless. We see long service in armies, or at sea, makes men insensible of dangers. We see the love of liberty, desire of revenge, and defence of their country or Prince, renders them careless of life. The very confidence of victory, either from former and frequent successes, from the esteem and opinion of their commanders, or from the scorn of their enemies, makes armies victorious; but chiefly, the firm and rooted opinions of reward or punishment attending another world, and of obtaining the one, or avoiding the other, by dying or conquering in the quarrel they are engaged in. And these are the great sources of victory and fortune in arms; for, let the numbers be what they will, that army is ever beaten where the fright first enters. Few battles were lost of old, but none since the use of gunpowder, by the greatness of downright slaughter, before an army runs; and the noise and smoke of guns both increases fear, and covers shame, more than the ancient use of arms; so that, since those of fire came in, battles have been usually shorter and less bloody than before.

If it be true (which I think will not be denied either by soldiers or reasonable men) that the battle is lost where the fright first enters, then the reason will appear why victory has generally followed the smaller numbers, because, in a body composed of more parts, it may sooner enter upon one, than in that which consists of fewer, as likelier to find ten wise men together than an hundred, and an hun-

dred fearless men than a thousand: and those, who were the smaller forces, endeavour most to supply that defect by the choice, discipline, and bravery of their troops; and, where the fright once enters an army, the greater the number, the greater the disorder, and thereby the loss of the battle more certain and sudden.

From all this, I conclude, that the composition of victorious armies, and the great true ground of conquest, consists first in the choice of the strongest, ablest, and hardiest bodies of men: next, in the exactness of discipline, by which they are inured to labour and dangers, and to fear their commanders more than their enemies: and lastly, in the spirit given them by love of their country or their Prince, by impressions of honour or religion, to render them fearless of death, and so incapable, or at least very difficult, to receive any fright, or break thereby into disorder. And I question not but any brave Prince or General, at the head of forty thousand men, who would certainly stand their ground, and sooner die than leave it, might fight any number of forces that can be drawn together in any field: for, besides that a greater number may fall sooner into fright and disorder, perhaps a greater can hardly be drawn into the action of one day's battle, whereas very few, in late ages, have lasted half that time.

The last remark I shall make upon this subject is, that the conquering nations have generally been those who placed the strength of their arms in their foot, and not in their horse, which have never, till these later years, been esteemed capable of breaking a firm body of foot; nor does their force seem to consist in other advantage, besides that of giving terror upon the fury of their first charge. Nor is this opinion less grounded upon reason than experience; for, besides that men are firmer upon

their own feet than those of their horses, and less in danger of falling into disorder, which may come from want of discipline or courage in the horses as well as their riders; it is hard to imagine, that spurs in the sides of horses should have more effect or force to make them advance upon a charge, than pikes, swords, or javelins in their noses and breasts to make them keep off, fall back, or break their ranks, and run into disorder.

For the experience, nothing has been more known in all ages, or more undisputed. The battle of Marathon was gained by ten thousand foot, against mighty numbers of Persian horses as well as foot. The famous retreat of Xenophon, for such a length of country and of time, was made at the head of ten thousand Greeks in the face of forty thousand Persian horse; nor had the Greeks above a hundred or six score horse in their camp, which they made use of only to forage, or pursue the Persian horse, when they fled in disorder from the points of their pikes and javelins. The Macedonian foot, and afterwards the Macedonian phalanx, were impenetrable by all the Persian horse that ever encountered them. The Roman legions consisted each of six thousand foot and three hundred horse, which was all the proportion they ever had in their victorious armies, that could not be broken by the vast numbers of Spanish, Numidian, or Persian and Armenian horse they were so often engaged with. The force of the Gothic nations consisted in their foot, and of the Turkish and Ottoman empire in their Janizaries. The noble conquests of the English in France were made all by their foot; and during that period of time, when the Crown of Spain made so great a figure in Europe, it was all by the force and bravery of their Spanish and Italian foot.

There seem to be but two exceptions against this rule, which are the ancient greatness of the Per-

sians, and modern of the French, whose chief force have been esteemed to consist in their horse. But the Persian empire was raised by the conquests of the eastern nations, whose armies consisted chiefly in horse, and one against the other, the best carried it; till they came to deal with the Grecian foot, after which they were ever beaten. For the French armies, though the bravery of their cavalry has been great and noble, as made up of so numerous a Gentry in that kingdom; yet one chief strength of their troops must be allowed, for the several late reigns, to have lain in their bands of Switzers; and in this present reign, Mareschal Turenne must be acknowledged to have made way for his Master's greatness, by improving the bodies of French foot with force of choice and discipline, beyond what they had ever been thought capable of before his time.

I shall end this remark with an adventure I remember to have read in the stories of the Dukes of Milan. One of them, having routed a great army of his enemies, was enraged to find a body of Switzers make still a firm stand against all his victorious troops. He endeavoured to break them by a desperate charge of some squadrons of his *Gens d'armes*, who were all armed, as well as the heads and breasts of their horses, and so proof, as he thought, against the Switzers pikes. But all this effort proved in vain, till at length the Duke commanded three or four hundred of them to alight from their horses, and armed as they were, to fall in upon the Switzers with their swords; they did it so desperately, some catching hold of the heads of their pikes, others cutting them in pieces with their broad swords, that they at last made way for themselves and other troops that followed them, and broke this body of brave Switzers, which had been impenetrable by any horse that could charge them:

and this seems an evident testimony, that the impressions of horse upon foot are made by terror rather than force; and where that first enters, the action is soon decided.

After all that has been said of conquerors or conquests, this must be confessed to hold but the second rank in the pretensions to heroic virtue, and that the first has been allowed to the wise institution of just orders and laws, which frame safe and happy governments in the world. The designs and effects of conquests are but the slaughter and ruin of mankind, the ravaging of countries, and defacing the world: those of wise and just governments are preserving and increasing the lives and generations of men, securing their possessions, encouraging their endeavours, and by peace and riches improving and adorning the several scenes of the world.

So the institutions of Moses leave him a diviner character than the victories of Joshua: those of Belus, Osiris, and Janus, than the prowess of Ninus, Cyrus, and Sesostris. And if, among the ancients, some men have been esteemed heroes, by the brave atchievements of great conquests and victories, it has been by the wise institution of laws and government, that others have been honoured and adored as gods.

OF POETRY.

THE two common shrines to which most men offer up the application of their thoughts and their lives, are profit and pleasure; and by their devotions to either of these, they are vulgarly distinguished into two sects, and called either busy or idle men. Whether these terms differ in meaning, or only in sound, I know very well may be disputed, and with appearance enough, since the covetous man takes perhaps as much pleasure in his gains, as the voluptuous does in his luxury, and would not pursue his business, unless he were pleased with it, upon the last account of what he most wishes and desires, nor would care for the increase of his fortunes, unless he thereby proposed that of his pleasures too, in one kind or other; so that pleasure may be said to be his end, whether he will allow to find it in his pursuit or no. Much ado there has been, many words spent, or (to speak with more respect to the ancient philosophers), many disputes have been raised upon this argument, I think, to little purpose, and that all has been rather an exercise of wit, than an inquiry after truth; and all controversies that can never end, had better perhaps never begin. The best is to take words as they are most commonly spoken and meant, like coin, as it most currently passes, without raising scruples upon the weight of the allay, unless the cheat or the defect be gross and evident. Few things in the world, or none, will bear too much refining; a thread too fine spun will easily break, and the point of a needle too finely filed.

The usual acceptation takes profit and pleasure for two different things, and not only calls the followers or votaries of them by several names of busy and of idle men, but distinguishes the faculties of the mind that are conversant about them, calling the operations of the first Wisdom, and of the other Wit, which is a Saxon word that is used to express what the Spaniards and Italians call *Ingenio*, and the French *Esprit*, both from the Latin; but I think wit more peculiarly signifies that of poetry, as may occur upon remarks of the Runic language. To the first of these are attributed the inventions or productions of things generally esteemed the most necessary, useful, or profitable to human life, either in private possessions or public institutions: to the other, those writings or discourses which are the most pleasing or entertaining to all that read or hear them: yet, according to the opinion of those that link them together, as the inventions of sages and lawgivers themselves do please as well as profit those who approve and follow them; so those of poets instruct and profit as well as please such as are conversant in them; and the happy mixture of both these makes the excellency in both those compositions, and has given occasion for esteeming, or at least for calling, heroic virtue and poetry divine.

The names given to poets, both in Greek and Latin, express the same opinion of them in those nations; the Greek signifying makers or creators, such as raise admirable frames and fabrics out of nothing, which strike with wonder and with pleasure the eyes and imaginations of those who behold them; the Latin makes the same word common to poets and to prophets. Now as creation is the first attribute and highest operation of Divine Power, so is prophecy the greatest emanation of Divine Spirit in the world. As the names in those two learned languages, so the causes of poetry are, by

the writers of them, said to be divine, and to proceed from a celestial fire, or divine inspiration; and, by the vulgar opinions, recited or related to in many passages of those authors, the effects of poetry were likewise thought divine and supernatural, and power of charms and enchantments were ascribed to it.

> Carmina vel cœlo possunt deducere lunam,
> Carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulyssis,
> Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.

But I can easily admire poetry, and yet without adoring it; I can allow it to arise from the greatest excellency of natural temper, or the greatest race of native genius, without exceeding the reach of what is human, or giving it any approaches of divinity, which is, I doubt, debased or dishonoured, by ascribing to it any thing that is in the compass of our action, or even comprehension, unless it be raised by an immediate influence from itself. I cannot allow poetry to be more divine in its effects than in its causes, nor any operation produced by it to be more than purely natural, or to deserve any other sort of wonder than those of music, or of natural magic, however any of them have appeared to minds little versed in the speculations of nature, of occult qualities, and the force of numbers or of sounds. Whoever talks of drawing down the moon from heaven, by force of verses or of charms, either believes not himself, or too easily believes what others told him; or perhaps follows an opinion begun by the practice of some poet, upon the facility of some people, who, knowing the time when an eclipse would happen, told them he would by his charms call down the moon at such an hour, and was by them thought to have performed it.

When I read that charming description in Virgil's eighth Eclogue, of all sorts of charms and fas-

cinations by verses, by images, by knots, by numbers, by fire, by herbs, employed upon occasion of a violent passion, from a jealous or disappointed love, I have recourse to the strong impressions of fables and of poetry, to the easy mistakes of popular opinions, to the force of imagination, to the secret virtues of several herbs, and to the powers of sounds: and I am sorry the natural history, or account of fascination, has not employed the pen of some person of such excellent wit and deep thought and learning as Casaubon, who writ that curious and useful treatise of Enthusiasm, and by it discovered the hidden or mistaken sources of that delusion, so frequent in all regions and religions of the world, and which had so fatally spread over our country in that age in which this treatise was so seasonably published. It is much to be lamented that he lived not to complete that work in the second part he promised; or that his friends neglected the publishing of it, if it were left in papers, though loose and unfinished. I think a clear account of enthusiasm and fascination, from their natural causes, would very much deserve from mankind in general, as well as from the commonwealth of learning; might perhaps prevent so many public disorders, and save the lives of many innocent, deluded, or deluding people, who suffer so frequently upon account of witches and wizards. I have seen many miserable examples of this kind in my youth at home; and, though the humour or fashion be a good deal worn out of the world within thirty or forty years past, yet it still remains in several remote parts of Germany, Sweden, and some other countries.

But, to return to the charms of poetry: if the forsaken lover, in that eclogue of Virgil, had expected only from the force of her verses, or her charms, what is the burden of the song, to bring

Daphnis home from the town where he was gone, and engaged in a new amour; if she had pretended only to revive an old fainting flame, or to damp a new one that was kindling in his breast; she might, for aught I know, have compassed such ends by the power of such charms, and without any other than very natural enchantments. For there is no question but true poetry may have the force to raise passions, and to allay them, to change and to extinguish them, to temper joy and grief, to raise love and fear; nay, to turn fear into boldness, and love into indifference, and into hatred itself: and I easily believe that the disheartened Spartans were new animated, and recovered their lost courage, by the songs of Tyrtæus; that the cruelty and revenge of Phalaris were changed by the odes of Stesichorus into the greatest kindness and esteem; and that many men were as passionately enamoured by the charms of Sappho's wit and poetry, as by those of beauty in Flora or Thais; for it is not only beauty gives love, but loves gives beauty to the object that raises it; and, if the possession be strong enough, let it come from what it will, there is always beauty enough in the person that gives it. Nor is it any great wonder that such force should be found in poetry, since in it are assembled all the powers of eloquence, of music, and of picture, which are allowed to make so strong impressions upon human minds. How far men have been affected with all, or any of these, needs little proof or testimony: the examples have been known enough in Greece and in Italy, where some have fallen downright in love with the ravishing beauties of a lovely object drawn by the skill of an admirable painter; nay, painters themselves have fallen in love with some of their own productions, and doated on them as on a mistress or a fond child; which distinguishes among the Italians the several

pieces that are done by the same hand, into several degrees of those made, *con studio*, *con diligenza*, or *con amore*, whereof the last are ever the most excelling. But there needs no more instances of this kind than the stories related and believed by the best authors as known and undisputed; of the two young Grecians, one whereof ventured his life to be locked up all night in the temple, and satisfy his passion with the embraces and enjoyment of a statue of Venus that was there set up, and designed for another sort of adoration; the other pined away and died for being hindred his perpetually gazing, admiring, and embracing a statue at Athens.

The powers of music are either felt or known by all men, and are allowed to work strangely upon the mind and the body, the passions and the blood; to raise joy and grief, to give pleasure and pain, to cure diseases, and the mortal sting of the Tarantula; to give motions to the feet as well as the heart, to compose disturbed thoughts, to assist and heighten devotion itself. We need no recourse to the fables of Orpheus or Amphion, or the force of their music upon fishes and beasts; it is enough that we find the charming of serpents, and the cure or allay of an evil spirit or possession, attributed to it in sacred writ.

For the force of eloquence, that so often raised and appeased the violence of popular commotions, and caused such convulsions in the Athenian state, no man need more to make him acknowledge it than to consider Cæsar, one of the greatest and wisest of mortal men, come upon the tribunal full of hatred and revenge, and with a determined resolution to condemn Labienus; yet, upon the force of Cicero's eloquence (in an oration for his defence) began to change countenance, turn pale, shake to that degree, that the papers he held fell out of his hand, as if he had been frighted with words, that

never was so with blows; and at last change all his anger into clemency, and acquit the brave criminal, instead of condemning him.

Now, if the strength of these three mighty powers be united in poetry, we need not wonder that such virtues and such honours have been attributed to it, that it has been thought to be inspired, or has been called divine; and yet I think it will not be disputed, that the force of wit and of reasoning, the height of conceptions and expressions, may be found in poetry as well as in oratory, the life and spirit of representation or picture as much as in painting, and the force of sounds as well as in music; and how far these three natural powers together may extend, and to what effect (even such as may be mistaken for supernatural or magical), I leave it to such men to consider, whose thoughts turn to such speculations as these, or who, by their native temper and genius, are, in some degree, disposed, or receive the impressions of them. For my part, I do not wonder, that the famous Dr. Harvey, when he was reading Virgil, should sometimes throw him down upon the table, and say he had a devil; nor that the learned Meric Casaubon should find such charming pleasures and emotions, as he describes upon the reading some parts of Lucretius; that so many should cry, and with downright tears, at some tragedies of Shakespear, and so many more should feel such turns or curdling of their blood, upon the reading or hearing of some excellent pieces of poetry; nor that Octavia fell into a swoon, at the recital made by Virgil of those verses in the sixth of his Æneids.

This is enough to assert the powers of poetry, and discover the ground of those opinions of old, which derived it from divine inspirations, and gave it so great a share in the supposed effects of sorcery and magic. But, as the old romances seem

to lessen the honour of true prowess and valour in their knights, by giving such a part in all their chief adventures to enchantment, so the true excellency and just esteem of poetry seems rather debased than exalted by the stories or belief of the charms performed by it, which, among the northern nations, grew so strong and so general, that, about five or six hundred years ago, all the Runic poetry came to be decried, and those ancient characters in which they were written, to be abolished by the zeal of bishops, and even by orders and decrees of state, which has given a great maim, or rather an irrecoverable loss, to the story of those northern kingdoms, the seat of our ancestors in all the western parts of Europe.

The more true and natural source of poetry may be discovered, by observing to what god this inspiration was ascribed by the ancients, which was Apollo, or the sun, esteemed among them the god of learning in general, but more particularly of music and of poetry. The mystery of this fable means, I suppose, that a certain noble and vital heat of temper, but especially of the brain, is the true spring of these two parts or sciences: this was that celestial fire, which gave such a pleasing motion and agitation to the minds of those men, that have been so much admired in the world, that raises such infinite images of things so agreeable and delightful to mankind; by the influence of this sun, are produced those golden and inexhausted mines of invention, which has furnished the world with treasures so highly esteemed, and so universally known and used, in all the regions that have yet been discovered. From this arises that elevation of genius, which can never be produced by any art or study, by pains or by industry, which cannot be taught by precepts or examples; and therefore is agreed by all, to be the pure and free

gift of Heaven or of nature, and to be a fire kindled out of some hidden spark of the very first conception.

But, though invention be the mother of poetry, yet this child is, like all others, born naked, and must be nourished with care, clothed with exactness and elegance, educated with industry, instructed with art, improved by application, corrected with severity, and accomplished with labour and with time, before it arrives at any great perfection or growth: it is certain that no composition requires so many several ingredients, or of more different sorts, than this; not that to excel in any qualities, there are necessary so many gifts of nature, and so many improvements of learning and of art. For there must be an universal genius, of great compass as well as great elevation. There must be a sprightly imagination or fancy, fertile in a thousand productions, ranging over infinite ground, piercing into every corner, and, by the light of that true poetical fire, discovering a thousand little bodies or images in the world, and similitudes among them, unseen to common eyes, and which could not be discovered without the rays of that sun.

Besides the heat of invention and liveliness of wit, there must be the coldness of good sense and soundness of judgment, to distinguish between things and conceptions, which, at first sight, or upon short glances, seem alike; to chuse among infinite productions of wit and fancy, which are worth preserving and cultivating, and which are better stifled in the birth, or thrown away when they are born, as not worth bringing up. Without the forces of wit, all poetry is flat and languishing; without the succours of judgment, it is wild and extravagant. The true wit of poesy is, that such contraries must meet to compose it, a genius both

penetrating and solid; in expression both delicacy and force; and the frame or fabric of a true poem must have something both sublime and just, amazing and agreeable. There must be a great agitation of mind to invent, a great calm to judge and correct; there must be, upon the same tree, and at the same time, both flower and fruit. To work up this metal into exquisite figure, there must be employed the fire, the hammer, the chisel, and the file. There must be a general knowledge both of nature and of arts, and, to go the lowest that can be, there are required genius, judgment, and application; for, without this last, all the rest will not serve turn, and none ever was a great poet that applied himself much to any thing else.

When I speak of poetry, I mean not an ode or an elegy, a song or a satire; nor by a poet, the composer of any of these, but of a just poem; and, after all I have said, it is no wonder there should be so few that appeared in any parts or any ages of the world, or that such as have should be so much admired, and have almost divinity ascribed to them, and to their works.

Whatever has been among those, who are mentioned with so much praise or admiration by the ancients, but are lost to us, and unknown any further than their names, I think no man has been so bold among those that remain to question the title of Homer and Virgil, not only to the first rank, but to the supreme dominion in this state, and from whom, as the great lawgivers as well as Princes, all the laws and orders of it are or may be derived. Homer was, without dispute, the most universal genius that has been known in the world, and Virgil the most accomplished. To the first must be allowed the most fertile invention, the richest vein, the most general knowledge, and the most lively

expression: to the last, the noblest ideas, the justest institution, the wisest conduct, and the choicest elocution. To speak in the painter's terms, we find, in the works of Homer, the most spirit, force, and life; in those of Virgil, the best design, the truest proportions, and the greatest grace: the colouring in both seems equal, and indeed is in both admirable. Homer had more fire and rapture, Virgil more light and swiftness; or at least, the poetical fire was more raging in one, but clearer in the other, which makes the first more amazing, and the latter more agreeable. The ore was richer in one, but in the other more refined, and better allayed to make up excellent work. Upon the whole, I think it must be confessed, that Homer was of the two, and perhaps of all others, the vastest, the sublimest, and the most wonderful genius; and that he has been generally so esteemed, there cannot be a greater testimony given, than what has been by some observed, that not only the greatest masters have found in his works the best and truest principles of all their sciences or arts, but that the noblest nations have derived from them the original of their several races, though it be hardly yet agreed, whether his story be true or a fiction. In short, these two immortal poets must be allowed to have so much excelled in their kinds, as to have exceeded all comparison, to have even extinguished emulation, and in a manner confined true poetry, not only to their two languages, but to their very persons. And I am apt to believe so much of the true genius of poetry in general, and of its elevation in these two particulars, that I know not, whether of all the numbers of mankind that live within the compass of a thousand years, for one man that is born capable of making such a poet as Homer or Virgil, there may not be a thousand

born capable of making as great generals of armies, or ministers of state, as any the most renowned in story.

I do not here intend to make a further critic upon poetry, which were too great a labour; nor to give rules for it, which were as great a presumption: besides, there has been so much paper blotted upon these subjects, in this curious and censuring age, that it is all grown tedious or repetition. The modern French wits (or pretenders) have been very severe in their censures, and exact in their rules, I think to very little purpose; for I know not, why they might not have contented themselves with those given by Aristotle and Horace, and have translated them rather than commented upon them, for all they have done has been no more; so as they seem, by their writings of this kind, rather to have valued themselves, than improved any body else. The truth is, there is something in the genius of poetry too libertine to be confined to so many rules: and whoever goes about to subject it to such constraints, loses both its spirit and grace, which are ever native, and never learned, even of the best masters. It is as if, to make excellent honey, you should cut off the wings of your bees, confine them to their hive or their stands, and lay flowers before them, such as you think the sweetest, and like to yield the finest extraction; you had as good pull out their stings, and make arrant drones of them. They must range through fields as well as gardens, choose such flowers as they please, and by properties and scents they only know and distinguish: they must work up their cells with admirable art, extract their honey with infinite labour, and sever it from the wax with such distinction and choice as belongs to none but themselves to perform or to judge.

It would be too much mortification to these great

arbitrary rulers among the French writers, or our own, to observe the worthy productions that have been formed by their rules, the honour they have received in the world, or the pleasure they have given mankind; but, to comfort them, I do not know there was any great poet in Greece, after the rules of that art laid down by Aristotle; nor in Rome, after those by Horace, which yet none of our moderns pretend to have outdone. Perhaps Theocritus and Lucan may be alledged against this assertion; but the first offered no further than at idyls or eclogues; and the last, though he must be avowed for a true and happy genius, and to have made some very high flights, yet he is so unequal to himself, and his muse is so young, that his faults are too noted, to allow his pretences. *Feliciter audet* is the true character of Lucan; as of Ovid, *Lusit amabiliter*. After all, the utmost that can be atchieved, or I think pretended, by any rules in this art, is but to hinder some men from being very ill poets, but not to make any man a very good one. To judge who is so, we need go no farther for instruction than three lines of Horace:

——Ille meum qui pectus inaniter angit,
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
Ut magus, et modò me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis.

He is a poet,

Who vainly anguishes my breast,
Provokes, allays, and with false terror fills,
Like a magician, and now sets me down
In Thebes, and now in Athens.

Whoever does not affect and move the same present passions in you, that he represents in others, and at other times raise images about you, as a conjurer is said to do spirits, transports you to the places and to the persons he describes, cannot be judged to be a poet, though his measures are never

so just, his feet never so smooth, or his sounds never so sweet. But instead of critic, or rules concerning poetry, I shall rather turn my thoughts to the history of it, and observe the antiquity, the uses, the changes, the decays, that have attended this great empire of wit.

It is, I think, generally agreed, to have been the first sort of writing that has been used in the world; and in several nations to have preceded the very invention or usage of letters. This last is certain in America, where the first Spaniards met with many strains of poetry, and left several of them translated into their language, which seems to have flowed from a true poetic vein, before any letters were known in those regions. The same is probable of the Scythians, the Grecians and the Germans. Aristotle says, the Agathyrsi had their laws all in verse; and Tacitus, that the Germans had no annals nor records but what were so; and, for the Grecian oracles delivered in them, we have no certain accounts when they began, but rather reason to believe it was before the introduction of letters from Phœnicia among them. Pliny tells it, as a thing known, that Pherecides was the first who writ prose in the Greek tongue, and that he lived about the time of Cyrus, whereas Homer and Hesiod lived some hundreds of years before that age; and Orpheus, Linus, Musæus, some hundreds before them: and of the Sibyls, several were before any of those, and in times as well as places, whereof we have no clear records now remaining. What Solon and Pythagoras writ is said to have been in verse, who were something older than Cyrus; and before them were Archilochus, Simonides, Tyrtæus, Sappho, Stesichorus, and several other poets famous in their times. The same thing is reported of Chaldea, Syria, and China; among the ancient western Goths (our ancestors) the Runic poetry seems to have

been as old as their letters; and their laws, their precepts of wisdom, as well as their records, their religious rites, as well as their charms and incantations, to have been all in verse.

Among the Hebrews, and even in sacred writ, the most ancient is by some learned men esteemed to be the Book of Job, and that it was written before the times of Moses, and that it was a translation into Hebrew out of the old Chaldæan or Arabian language. It may probably be conjectured, that he was not a Jew, from the place of his abode, which appears to have been seated between the Chaldæans of one side, and the Sabeans (who were of Arabia) on the other; and, by many passages of that admirable and truly inspired poem, the author seems to have lived in some parts near the mouth of Euphrates, or the Persian gulph, where he contemplated the wonders of the deep, as well as the other works of nature common to those regions. Nor is it easy to find any traces of the Mosaical rites or institutions, either in the divine worship, or the morals related to in those writings: for not only sacrifices and praises were much more ancient in religious service than the age of Moses, but the opinion of one deity, and adored without any idol or representation, was professed and received among the ancient Persians and Hetruscans and Chaldæans. So that if Job was an Hebrew, it is probable he may have been of the race of Heber, who lived in Chaldæa, or of Abraham, who is supposed to have left that country for the profession or worship of one God, rather than from the branch of Isaac and Israel, who lived in the land of Canaan. Now I think it is out of controversy, that the Book of Job was written originally in verse, and was a poem upon the subject of the justice and power of God, and in vindication of his providence, against the common arguments of atheistical men, who

took occasion to dispute it from the usual events of human things, by which so many ill and impious men seem happy and prosperous in the course of their lives, and so many pious and just men seem miserable or afflicted. The Spanish translation of the Jews in Ferrara, which pretends to render the Hebrew (as near as could be) word for word; and for which all translators of the Bible since have had great regard, gives us the two first chapters and the last from the seventh verse in prose, as an historical introduction and conclusion of the work, and all the rest in verse, except the transitions from one part or person of this sacred dialogue to another.

But if we take the books of Moses to be the most ancient in the Hebrew tongue, yet the Song of Moses may probably have been written before the rest; as that of Deborah before the Book of Judges, being praises sung to God upon the victories or successes of the Israelites, related in both. And I never read the last, without observing in it as true and noble strains of poetry and picture, as in any other language whatsoever, in spite of all disadvantages from translations into so different tongues and common prose. If an opinion of some learned men, both modern and ancient, could be allowed, that Esdras was the writer or compiler of the first historical parts of the Old Testament, though from the same divine inspiration as that of Moses and the other prophets, then the Psalms of David would be the first writings we find in Hebrew, and next to them the Song of Solomon, which was written when he was young, and Ecclesiastes when he was old: so that from all sides, both sacred and profane, it appears that poetry was the first sort of writing known and used in the several nations of the world.

It may seem strange, I confess, upon the first thought, that a sort of style, so regular and so dif-

ficult, should have grown in use before the other, so easy and so loose: but if we consider what the first end of writing was, it will appear probable from reason as well as experience; for the true and general end was but the help of memory, in preserving that of words and of actions, which would otherwise have been lost, and soon vanish away with the transitory passage of human breath and life. Before the discourses and disputes of philosophers began to busy or amuse the Grecian wits, there was nothing written in prose, but either laws, some short sayings of wise men, or some riddles, parables, or fables, wherein were couched by the ancients many strains of natural and moral wisdom and knowledge, and, besides these, some short memorials of persons, actions, and of times.

Now it is obvious enough to conceive, how much easier all such writings should be learnt and remembered in verse than in prose, not only by the pleasure of measures and of sounds, which gives a great impression to memory, but by the order of feet, which makes a great facility of tracing one word after another, by knowing what sort of foot or quantity must necessarily have preceded or followed the words we retain and desire to make up.

This made poetry so necessary before letters were invented, and so convenient afterwards; and shews that the great honour and general request, wherein it has always been, has not proceeded only from the pleasure and delight, but likewise from the usefulness and profit, of poetical writings.

This leads me naturally to the subjects of poetry, which have been generally praise, instruction, story, love, grief, and reproach. Praise was the subject of all the songs and psalms mentioned in holy writ; of the hymns of Orpheus, of Homer, and many others; of the Carmina Secularia in Rome, composed all and designed for the honour of their gods;

of Pindar, Stesichorus, and Tyrtæus in the praises of virtue, or virtuous men. The subject of Job is instruction concerning the attributes of God, and the works of nature. Those of Simonides, Phocillides, Theognis, and several other of the smaller Greek poets, with what passes for Pythagoras's, are instructions in morality; the first book of Hesiod and Virgil's Georgics, in agriculture; and Lucretius in the deepest natural philosophy. Story is the proper subject of heroic poems, as Homer and Virgil in their inimitable Iliads and Æneids; and Fable, which is a sort of story, in the Metamorphosis of Ovid. The Lyric poetry has been chiefly conversant about love, though turned often upon praise too; and the vein of Pastorals and Eclogues has run the same course, as may be observed in Theocritus, Virgil, and Horace, who was, I think, the first and last of true Lyric poets among the Latins: grief has been always the subject of Elegy, and reproach that of Satire. The Dramatic poesy has been composed of all these; but the chief end seems to have been instruction, and under the disguise of fables, or the pleasure of story, to shew the beauties and the rewards of virtue, the deformities and misfortunes or punishment of vice; by examples of both to encourage one, and deter men from the other; to reform ill customs, correct ill manners, and moderate all violent passions. These are the general subjects of both parts, though comedy give us but the images of common life, and tragedy those of the greater and more extraordinary passions and actions among men. To go further upon this subject would be to tread so beaten paths, that to travel in them only raises dust, and is neither of pleasure nor of use.

For the changes that have happened in poetry, I shall observe one ancient, and the others that are modern will be too remarkable, in the declines or

decays of this great empire of wit. The first change of poetry was made by translating it into prose, or clothing it in those loose robes or common veils, that disguised or covered the true beauty of its features and exactness of its shape. This was done first by Æsop in Greek: but the vein was much more ancient in the Eastern regions, and much in vogue, as we may observe in the many parables used in the Old Testament, as well as in the New. And there is a book of fables of the sort of Æsop's, translated out of Persian, and pretended to have been so, into that language out of the ancient Indian; but though it seems genuine of the Eastern countries, yet I do not take it to be so old, nor to have so much spirit, as the Greek. The next succession of poetry in prose seems to have been in the Miletian tales, which were a sort of little pastoral romances; and though much in request in old Greece and Rome, yet we have no examples, that I know, of them, unless it be the Longi Pastoralia, which gives a taste of the great delicacy and pleasure that was found so generally in those sort of tales. The last kind of poetry, in prose, is that which in later ages has over-run the world under the name of Romances, which though it seems modern, and a production of the Gothic genius, yet the writing is ancient. The remainders of Petronius Arbiter seem to be of this kind, and that which Lucian calls his True History: but the most ancient that passes by the name is Heliodorus, famous for the author's choosing to lose his bishopric, rather than disown that child of his wit. The true spirit or vein of ancient poetry in this kind seems to shine most in Sir Philip Sidney, whom I esteem both the greatest poet and the noblest genius of any that have left writings behind them, and published in ours or any other modern language; a person born capable not only of forming the greatest ideas, but

of leaving the noblest examples, if the length of his life had been equal to the excellence of his wit and virtues.

With him I leave the discourse of ancient poetry; and to discover the decays of this empire, must turn to that of the modern, which was introduced after the decays, or rather extinction, of the old: as if, true poetry being dead, an apparition of it walked about. This mighty change arrived by no smaller occasions, nor more ignoble revolutions, than those which destroyed the ancient empire and government of Rome, and erected so many new ones upon their ruins, by the invasions and conquests, or the general inundations of the Goths, Vandals, and other barbarous or Northern nations, upon those parts of Europe that had been subject to the Romans. After the conquests made by Cæsar upon Gaul and the nearer parts of Germany, which were continued and enlarged in the times of Augustus and Tiberius by their Lieutenants or Generals, great numbers of Germans and Gauls resorted to the Roman armies, and to the city itself, and habituated themselves there, as many Spaniards, Syrians, Grecians, had done before, upon the conquest of those countries. This mixture soon corrupted the purity of the Latin tongue; so that in Lucan, but more in Seneca, we find a great and harsh allay entered into the style of the Augustan age. After Trajan and Adrian had subdued many German and Scythian nations on both sides of the Danube, the commerce of those barbarous people grew very frequent with the Romans; and I am apt to think, that the little verses ascribed to Adrian were in imitation of the Runic poetry. The *Scythicas pati pruinas* of Florus shews their race or climate; and the first rhyme that ever I read in Latin, with little allusions of letters or syllables, is in that of Adrian at his death:

O animula, vagula, blandula,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, lurida, timidula,
Nec ut soles dabis joca.

It is probable, the old spirit of poetry being lost or frighted away by those long and bloody wars with such barbarous enemies, this new ghost began to appear in its room even about that age; or else that Adrian, who affected that piece of learning as well as others, and was not able to reach the old vein, turned to a new one, which his expeditions into those countries made more allowable in an Emperor, and his example recommended to others. In the time of Boëtius, who lived under Theodoric in Rome, we find the Latin poetry smell rank of this Gothic imitation, and the vein quite seared up.

After that age, learning grew every day more and more obscured by that cloud of ignorance, which coming from the North, and increasing with the numbers and successes of those barbarous people, at length overshaded all Europe for so long together. The Roman tongue began itself to fail or be disused, and by its corruption made way for the generation of three new languages in Spain, Italy, and France. The Courts of the Princes and Nobles, who were of the conquering nations, for several ages used their Gothic, or Franc, or Saxon tongues, which were mingled with those of Germany, where some of the Goths had sojourned long before they proceeded to their conquests of the more southern or western parts. Wherever the Roman colonies had long remained, and their language had been generally spoken, the common people used that still, but vitiated with the base allay of their provincial speech. This in Charlemain's time was called in France, Rustica Romana, and in Spain, during the Gothic reigns there, Romance; but in England, from whence all the Roman

soldiers, and great numbers of the Britains most accustomed to their commerce and language, had been drained for the defence of Gaul against the barbarous nations that invaded it about the time of Valentinian, that tongue being wholly extinguished (as well as their own) made way for the entire use of the Saxon language. With these changes the ancient poetry was wholly lost in all these countries, and a new sort grew up by degrees, which was called by a new name of rhymes, with an easy change of the Gothic word Runis, and not from the Greek Rythmes, as is vulgarly supposed.

Runes was properly the name of the ancient Gothic letters or characters, which were invented first or introduced by Odin, in the colony or kingdom of the Getes or Goths, which he planted in the north-west parts, and round the Baltic sea, as has been before related. But, because all the writings they had among them for many ages were in verse, it came to be the common name of all sorts of poetry among the Goths, and the writers or composers of them were called Runers or Rymers. They had likewise another name for them, or for some sorts of them, which was Viises or Wises; and because the sages of that nation expressed the best of their thoughts, and what learning and prudence they had, in these kind of writings, they that succeeded best and with most applause were termed wise men; the good sense, or learning, or useful knowledge contained in them was called wisdom; and the pleasant or facetious vein among them was called wit, which was applied to all spirit or race of poetry, where it was found in any man, and was generally pleasing to those that heard or read them.

Of these Runes there was in use among the Goths above a hundred several sorts, some com-

posed in longer, some in shorter lines, some equal, and others unequal, with many different cadencies, quantities, or feet, which in the pronouncing made many different sorts of original or natural tunes. Some were framed with allusions of words, or consonance of syllables, or of letters, either in the same line, or in the distich, or by alternate succession and resemblance, which made a sort of jingle that pleased the ruder ears of that people. And because their language was composed most of monosyllables, and of so great numbers, many must end in the same sound. Another sort of Runes were made, with the care and study of ending two lines, or each other of four lines, with words of the same sound; which being the easiest, requiring less art, and needing less spirit (because a certain chime in the sounds supplied that want, and pleased common ears), this in time grew the most general among all the Gothic colonies in Europe, and made rhymes, or Runes pass for the modern poetry in these parts of the world.

This was not used only in their modern languages, but, during those ignorant ages, even in that barbarous Latin which remained and was preserved among the Monks and Priests, to distinguish them by some show of learning from the Laity, who might well admire it, in what degree soever, and reverence the professors, when they themselves could neither write nor read, even in their own language; I mean not only the vulgar laymen, but even the generality of Nobles, Barons, and Princes among them; and this lasted till the ancient learning and languages began to be restored in Europe about two hundred years ago.

The common vein of the Gothic Runes was what is termed Dithyrambic, and was of a raving or rambling sort of wit or invention, loose and flowing, with little art or confinement to any certain

measures or rules; yet some of it wanted not the true spirit of poetry in some degree, or that natural inspiration which has been said to arise from some spark of poetical fire wherewith particular men are born; and, such as it was, it served the turn, not only to please, but even to charm the ignorant and barbarous vulgar, where it was in use. This made the Runers among the Goths as much in request and admired, as any of the ancient and most celebrated poets were among the learned nations; for among the blind, he that has one eye is a Prince. They were, as well as the others, thought inspired, and the charms of their Runic conceptions were generally esteemed divine, or magical at least.

The subjects of them were various, but commonly the same with those already observed in the true ancient poetry. Yet this vein was chiefly employed upon the records of bold and martial actions, and the praises of valiant men that had fought successfully or died bravely; and these songs or ballads were usually sung at feasts, or in circles of young or idle persons, and served to inflame the humour of war, of slaughter, and of spoils among them. More refined honour or love had little part in the writings, because it had little in the lives or actions of those fierce people and bloody times. Honour among them consisted in victory, and love in rapes and in lust.

But as the true flame of poetry was rare among them, and the rest was but wild-fire that sparkled or rather crackled a while, and soon went out with little pleasure or gazing of the beholders; those Runers, who could not raise admiration by the spirit of their poetry, endeavoured to do it by another, which was that of enchantments: this came in to supply the defects of that Sublime and Marvellous, which has been found both in poetry and

prose among the learned ancients. The Gothic Runers, to gain and establish the credit and admiration of their rhymes, turned the use of them very much to incantations and charms, pretending by them to raise storms, to calm the seas, to cause terror in their enemies, to transport themselves in the air, to conjure spirits, to cure diseases, and stanch bleeding wounds, to make women kind or easy, and men hard or invulnerable; as one of their most ancient Runers affirms of himself and his own atchievements, by force of these magical charms: the men or women, who were thought to perform such wonders or enchantments, were from Viises or Wises, the name of those verses wherein their charms were conceived, called Wizards or Witches.

Out of this quarry seem to have been raised all those trophies of enchantment that appear in the whole fabric of the old Spanish romances, which were the productions of the Gothic wit among them during their reign; and after the conquests of Spain by the Saracens, they were applied to the long wars between them and the Christians. From the same, perhaps, may be derived all the visionary tribe of fairies, elves, and goblins, of sprites, and bullbeggars, that serve not only to fright children into whatever their nurses please, but sometimes, by lasting impressions, to disquiet the sleeps and the very lives of men and women, till they grow to years of discretion; and that, God knows, is a period of time which some people arrive to but very late, and perhaps others never. At least, this belief prevailed so far among the Goths and their races, that all sorts of charms were not only attributed to their runes or verses, but to their very characters; so that, about the eleventh century, they were forbidden and abolished in Sweden, as they had been before in Spain, by civil and ec-

clesiastical commands or constitutions; and what has been since recovered of that learning or language has been fetched as far as Ysland itself.

How much of this kind, and of this credulity, remained even to our own age, may be observed by any man that reflects so far as thirty or forty years; how often avouched, and how generally credited, were the stories of fairies, sprites, witchcrafts, and enchantments? In some parts of France, and not longer ago, the common people believed certainly there were Lougaroos, or men turned into wolves; and I remember several Irish of the same mind. The remainders are woven into our very language: Mara, in old Runic, was a goblin that seized upon men asleep in their beds, and took from them all speech and motion. Old Nicka was a sprite that came to strangle people who fell into the water: Bo was a fierce Gothic captain, son of Odin, whose name was used by his soldiers when they would fright or surprise their enemies; and the proverb of rhyming rats to death came I suppose from the same root.

There were, not longer since than the time I have mentioned, some remainders of the runic poetry among the Irish. The great men of their Scepts, among the many officers of their family, which continued always in the same races, had not only a physician, a huntsman, a smith, and such like, but a poet and a tale-teller: the first recorded and sung the actions of their ancestors, and entertained the company at feasts; the latter amused them with tales when they were melancholy and could not sleep: and a very gallant gentleman of the North of Ireland has told me, of his own experience, that, in his wolf-huntings there, when he used to be abroad in the mountains three or four days together, and lay very ill a-nights, so as he could not well sleep; they would

bring him one of these tale-tellers, that, when he lay down, would begin a story of a king, or a giant, a dwarf and a damsel, and such rambling stuff, and continue it all night long in such an even tone, that you heard it going on whenever you awaked; and he believed nothing any physicians give could have so good and so innocent effect, to make men sleep in any pains or distempers of body or mind. I remember, in my youth, some persons of our country to have said grace in rhymes, and others their constant prayers; and it is vulgar enough, that some deeds or conveyances of land have been so since the Conquest.

In such poor wretched weeds as these was poetry clothed, during those shades of ignorance that overspread all Europe for so many ages after the sun-set of the Roman learning and empire together, which were succeeded by so many new dominions, or plantations of the Gothic swarms, and by a new face of customs, habit, language, and almost of nature; but upon the dawn of a new day, and the resurrection of other sciences, with the two learned languages, among us, this of poetry began to appear very early, though very unlike itself, and in shapes as well as cloaths, in humour and in spirit, very different from the ancient. It was now all in rhyme, after the Gothic fashion; for indeed none of the several dialects of that language or allay would bear the composure of such feet and measures as were in use among the Greeks and Latins; and some that attempted it soon left it off, despairing of success. Yet, in this new dress, poetry was not without some charms, especially those of grace and sweetness, and the ore began to shine in the hands and works of the first refiners. Petrarch, Ronsard, Spencer, met with much applause upon the subjects of love, praise, grief, reproach. Ariosto and Tasso entered

boldly upon the scene of heroic poems; but, having not wings for so high flights, began to learn of the old ones, fell upon their imitations, and chiefly of Virgil, as far as the force of their genius, or disadvantages of new languages and customs, would allow. The religion of the Gentiles had been woven into the contexture of all the ancient poetry, with a very agreeable mixture, which made the moderns affect to give that of Christianity a place also in their poems. But the true religion was not found to become fiction so well as a false had done, and all their attempts of this kind seemed rather to debase religion than to heighten poetry. Spencer endeavoured to supply this with morality, and to make instruction, instead of story, the subject of an Epic poem. His execution was excellent, and his flights of fancy very noble and high, but his design was poor, and his moral lay so bare that it lost the effect: it is true, the pill was gilded, but so thin, that the colour and the taste were too easily discovered.

After these three, I know none of the moderns that have made any atchievements in heroic poetry worth recording. The wits of the age soon left off such bold adventures, and turned to other veins; as if, not worthy to sit down at the feast, they contented themselves with the scraps, with songs and sonnets, with odes and elegies, with satires and panegyrics, and what we call copies of verses upon any subjects or occasions, wanting either genius or application for nobler or more laborious productions; as painters, that cannot succeed in great pieces, turn to miniature.

But the modern poets, to value this small coin, and make it pass, though of so much a baser metal than the old, gave it a new mixture from two veins which were little known or little esteemed among

the ancients. There were indeed certain fairies in the old regions of poetry, called Epigrams, which seldom reached above the stature of two, or four, or six lines, and which being so short, were all turned upon conceit, or some sharp hits of fancy or wit. The only ancient of this kind among the Latins were the Priapeïa, which were little voluntaries or extemporaries, written upon the ridiculous wooden statues of Priapus, among the gardens of Rome. In the decays of the Roman learning and wit, as well as language, Martial, Ausonius, and others fell into this vein, and applied it indifferently to all subjects, which was before restrained to one, and dressed it something more cleanly than it was born. This vein of conceit seemed proper for such scraps or splinters into which poetry was broken, and was so eagerly followed, as almost to over-run all that was composed in our several modern languages; the Italian, the French, the Spanish, as well as English, were for a great while full of nothing else but conceit: it was an ingredient that gave taste to compositions which had little of themselves; it was a sauce that gave point to meat that was flat, and some life to colours that were fading; and, in short, those who could not furnish spirit, supplied it with this salt, which may preserve things or bodies that are dead, but is, for aught I know, of little use to the living, or necessary to meats that have much or pleasing tastes of their own. However it were, this vein first overflowed our modern poetry, and with so little distinction or judgment, that we would have conceit as well as rhyme in every two lines, and run through all our long scribbles as well as the short, and the whole body of the poem, whatever it is: this was just as if a building should be nothing but ornament, or

cloaths nothing but trimming; as if a face should be covered over with black patches, or a gown with spangles; which is all I shall say of it.

Another vein which has entered, and helped to corrupt our modern poesy, is that of ridicule; as if nothing pleased but what made one laugh, which yet come from two very different affections of the mind; for, as men have no disposition to laugh at things they are most pleased with, so they are very little pleased with many things they laugh at.

But this mistake is very general, and such modern poets as found no better way of pleasing, thought they could not fail of it by ridiculing. This was encouraged by finding conversation run so much into the same vein, and the wits in vogue to take up with that part of it which was formerly left to those that were called fools, and were used in great families only to make the company laugh. What opinion the Romans had of this character, appears in those lines of Horace.

——Absentem qui rodit amicum,
Qui non defendit, alio culpante, solutos
Qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis,
Fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere
Qui nequit, hic niger est, hunc tu Romane caveto.

And it is pity the character of a wit in one age, should be so like that of a black in another.

Rabelais seems to have been father of the ridicule; a man of excellent and universal learning, as well as wit: and though he had too much game given him for satire in that age, by the customs of courts and of convents, of processes and of wars, of schools and of camps, of romances and legends; yet he must be confessed to have kept up his vein of ridicule, by saying many things so malicious, so smutty, and so profane, that either a prudent, a modest, or a pious man, could not

have afforded, though he had never so much of that coin about him: and it were to be wished, that the wits who have followed his vein had not put too much value upon a dress that better understandings would not wear (at least in public), and upon a compass they gave themselves, which other men would not take. The matchless writer of Don Quixote is much more to be admired, for having made up so excellent a composition of satire or ridicule without those ingredients, and seems to be the best and highest strain that ever was or will be reached by that vein.

It began first in verse, with an Italian poem, called La Secchia Rapita; was pursued by Scarron in French, with his Virgil Travesty; and in English by Sir John Mince, Hudibras, and Cotton, and with greater height of burlesque in the English than, I think, in any other language. But, let the execution be what it will, the design, the custom, and example, are very pernicious to poetry, and indeed to all virtue and good qualities among men, which must be disheartened, by finding how unjustly and undistinguished they fall under the lash of raillery, and this vein of ridiculing the good as well as the ill, the guilty and the innocent together. It is a very poor, though common, pretence to merit, to make it appear by the faults of other men. A mean wit or beauty may pass in a room, where the rest of the company are allowed to have none: it is something to sparkle among diamonds, but to shine among pebbles is neither credit nor value worth the pretending.

Besides these two veins brought in to supply the defects of the modern poetry, much application has been made to the smoothness of language or style, which has at the best but the beauty of colouring in a picture, and can never make a good one, without spirit and strength. The academy

set up by Cardinal Richelieu, to amuse the wits of that age and country, and divert them from raking into his politics and ministry, brought this in vogue; and the French wits have for this last age been in a manner wholly turned to the refinement of their language, and indeed with such success, that it can hardly be excelled, and runs equally through their verse and their prose. The same vein has been likewise much cultivated in our modern English poetry; and by such poor recruits have the broken forces of this empire been of late made up; with what success, I leave to be judged by such as consider it in the former heights and the present declines, both of power and of honour; but this will not discourage, however it may affect, the true lovers of this mistress, who must ever think her a beauty in rags as well as in robes.

Among these many decays, there is yet one sort of poetry that seems to have succeeded much better with our moderns than any of the rest, which is Dramatic, or that of the stage: in this the Italian, the Spanish, and the French, have all had their different merit, and received their just applauses. Yet I am deceived, if our English has not in some kind excelled both the modern and the ancient, which has been by force of a vein natural perhaps to our country, and which with us is called humour, a word peculiar to our language too, and hard to be expressed in any other; nor is it (that I know of) found in any foreign writers, unless it be Moliere, and yet his itself has too much of the farce to pass for the same with ours. Shakespear was the first that opened this vein upon our stage, which has run so freely and so pleasantly ever since, that I have often wondered to find it appear so little upon any others, being a subject so proper for them; since humour is but a picture of particular life, as comedy is of general; and

though it represents dispositions and customs less common, yet they are not less natural than those that are more frequent among men; for if humour itself be forced, it loses all the grace; which has been indeed the fault of some of our poets most celebrated in this kind.

It may seem a defect in the ancient stage, that the characters introduced were so few, and those so common; as a covetous old man, an amorous young, a witty wench, a crafty slave, a bragging soldier: the spectators met nothing upon the stage, but what they met in the streets and at every turn. All the variety is drawn only from different and uncommon events; whereas, if the characters are so too, the diversity and the pleasure must needs be the more. But as of most general customs in a country there is usually some ground from the nature of the people or the climate, so there may be amongst us for this vein of our stage, and a greater variety of humour in the picture, because there is a greater variety in the life. This may proceed from the native plenty of our soil, the unequalness of our climate, as well as the ease of our government, and the liberty of professing opinions and factions, which perhaps our neighbours may have about them, but are forced to disguise, and thereby they may come in time to be extinguished. Plenty begets wantonness and pride; wantonness is apt to invent, and pride scorns to imitate; liberty begets stomach or heart, and stomach will not be constrained. Thus we come to have more originals, and more that appear what they are; we have more humour, because every man follows his own, and takes a pleasure, perhaps a pride, to shew it.

On the contrary, where the people are generally poor, and forced to hard labour, their actions and lives are all of a piece; where they serve hard

masters, they must follow his examples as well as commands, and are forced upon imitation in small matters, as well as obedience in great: so that some nations look as if they were cast all by one mould, or cut out all by one pattern (at least the common people in one, and the gentlemen in another:) they seem all of a sort in their habits, their customs, and even their talk and conversation, as well as in the application and pursuit of their actions and their lives.

Besides all this, there is another sort of variety amongst us, which arises from our climate, and the dispositions it naturally produces. We are not only more unlike one another than any nation I know, but we are more unlike ourselves too at several times, and owe to our very air some ill qualities as well as many good. We may allow some distempers incident to our climate, since so much health, vigour, and length of life have been generally ascribed to it; for among the Greek and Roman authors themselves we shall find the Britons observed to live the longest, and the Egyptians the shortest, of any nations that were known in those ages. Besides, I think none will dispute the native courage of our men, and beauty of our women, which may be elsewhere as great in particulars, but no where so in general; they may be (what is said of diseases) as acute in other places, but with us they are epidemical. For my own part, who have conversed much with men of other nations, and such as have been both in great employments and esteem, I can say very impartially, that I have not observed, among any, so much true genius as among the English; no where more sharpness of wit, more pleasantness of humour, more range of fancy, more penetration of thought, or depth of reflection among the better sort; no where more goodness of nature and of meaning, nor more plain-

ness of sense and of life, than among the common sort of country people; nor more blunt courage and honesty than among our seamen.

But, with all this, our country must be confessed to be what a great foreign physician called it, the region of spleen; which may arise a good deal from the great uncertainty and many sudden changes of our weather in all seasons of the year. And how much these affect the heads and hearts, especially of the finest tempers, is hard to be believed by men whose thoughts are not turned to such speculations. This makes us unequal in our humours, inconstant in our passions, uncertain in our ends, and even in our desires. Besides, our different opinions in religion, and the factions they have raised or animated for fifty years past, have had an ill effect upon our manners and customs, inducing more avarice, ambition, disguise (with the usual consequences of them) than were before in our constitution. From all this it may happen, that there is no where more true zeal in the many different forms of devotion, and yet no where more knavery under the shows and pretences. There are no where so many disputers upon religion, so many reasoners upon government, so many refiners in politics, so many curious inquisitives, so many pretenders to business and state-employments, greater porers upon books, nor plodders after wealth; and yet no where more abandoned libertines, more refined luxurists, extravagant debauchees, conceited gallants, more dabblers in poetry as well as politics, in philosophy, and in chemistry. I have had several servants far gone in divinity, others in poetry; have known, in the families of some friends, a keeper deep in the Rosycrucian principles, and a laundress firm in those of Epicurus. What effects soever such a composition or medley of humours among us may have upon our lives or our govern-

ment, it must needs have a good one upon our stage, and has given admirable play to our comical wits; so that, in my opinion, there is no vein of that sort, either ancient or modern, which excels or equals the humour of our plays. And, for the rest, I cannot but observe, to the honour of our country, that the good qualities amongst us seem to be natural, and the ill ones more accidental, and such as would be easily changed by the examples of Princes, and by the precepts of laws; such I mean, as should be designed to form manners, to restrain excesses, to encourage industry, to prevent men's expences beyond their fortunes, to countenance virtue, and raise that true esteem due to plain sense and common honesty.

But to spin off this thread, which is already grown too long: what honour and request the ancient poetry has lived in, may not only be observed from the universal reception and use in all nations from China to Peru, from Scythia to Arabia, but from the esteem of the best and the greatest men, as well as the vulgar. Among the Hebrews, David and Solomon, the wisest Kings, Job and Jeremiah, the holiest men, were the best poets of their nation and language. Among the Greeks, the two most renowned sages and lawgivers were Lycurgus and Solon, whereof the last is known to have excelled in poetry, and the first was so great a lover of it, that to his care and industry we are said (by some authors) to owe the collection and preservation of the loose and scattered pieces of Homer in the order wherein they have since appeared. Alexander is reported neither to have travelled nor slept without those admirable poems always in his company. Phalaris, that was inexorable to all other enemies, relented at the charms of Stesichorus his muse. Among the Romans, the last and great Scipio passed the soft hours of his

life in the conversation of Terence, and was thought to have a part in the composition of his comedies. Cæsar was an excellent poet as well as orator, and composed a poem in his voyage from Rome to Spain, relieving the tedious difficulties of his march with the entertainments of his muse. Augustus was not only a patron, but a friend and companion of Virgil and Horace, and was himself both an admirer of poetry, and a pretender too, as far as his genius would reach, or his busy scene allow. It is true, since his age we have few such examples of great Princes favouring or affecting poetry, and as few perhaps of great poets deserving it. Whether it be that the fierceness of the Gothic humours, or noise of their perpetual wars, frighted it away, or that the unequal mixture of the modern languages would not bear it; certain it is, that the great heights and excellency both of poetry and music fell with the Roman learning and empire, and have never since recovered the admiration and applauses that before attended them. Yet, such as they are among us, they must be confessed to be the softest and sweetest, the most general and most innocent amusements of common time and life. They still find room in the courts of Princes, and the cottages of shepherds. They serve to revive and animate the dead calm of poor or idle lives, and to allay or divert the violent passions and perturbations of the greatest and the busiest men. And both these effects are of equal use to human life; for the mind of man is like the sea, which is neither agreeable to the beholder nor the voyager in a calm or in a storm, but is so to both when a little agitated by gentle gales; and so the mind, when moved by soft and easy passions and affections. I know very well, that many, who pretend to be wise by the forms of being grave, are apt to despise both poetry and music as toys and

trifles too light for the use or entertainment of serious men. But, whoever find themselves wholly insensible to these charms, would, I think, do well to keep their own counsel, for fear of reproaching their own temper, and bringing the goodness of their natures, if not of their understandings, into question: it may be thought at least an ill sign, if not an ill constitution, since some of the Fathers went so far, as to esteem the love of music a sign of predestination, as a thing divine, and reserved for the felicities of heaven itself. While this world lasts, I doubt not but the pleasure and requests of these two entertainments will do so too: and happy those that content themselves with these, or any other so easy and so innocent; and do not trouble the world, or other men, because they cannot be quiet themselves, though no body hurts them!

When all is done, human life is, at the greatest and the best, but like a froward child, that must be played with and humoured a little to keep it quiet till it falls asleep, and then the care is over.

AN

ESSAY

UPON THE

ANCIENT AND MODERN LEARNING*.

——— *Juvat antiquos accedere fontes.*

WHOEVER converses much among the old books will be something hard to please among the new; yet these must have their part too in the leisure of an idle man, and have many of them their beauties as well as their defaults. Those of story, or relations of matter of fact, have a value from their substance as much as from their form; and the variety of events is seldom without entertainment or instruction, how indifferently soever the tale is told. Other sorts of writings have little of esteem, but what they receive from the wit, learning, or genius

* The second part of the *Miscellanea*, as first published, contained four essays,

I. Upon ancient and modern learning.
II. Upon the gardens of Epicurus.
III. Upon heroic virtue.
IV. Upon poetry.

(for which see the table of contents to this volume) and was inscribed to the university of Cambridge in these words:

ALMÆ MATRI
ACADEMIÆ
CANTABRIGIENSI,
HAS QUALESCUNQUE NUGAS
AT REI LITERARIÆ NON ALIENAS,
D. D. Dq;
ALUMNUS OLIM
ET SEMPER OBSERVANTISSIMUS
W. TEMPLE.

of the authors, and are seldom met with of any excellency, because they do but trace over the paths that have been beaten by the ancients, or comment, critique, and flourish upon them; and are at best but copies after those originals, unless upon subjects never touched by them; such as are all that relate to the different constitutions of religious laws or governments in several countries, with all matters of controversy that arise upon them.

Two pieces that have lately pleased me (abstracted from any of these subjects) are, one in English upon the Antediluvian World; and another in French upon the Plurality of Worlds; one writ by a Divine, and the other by a Gentleman, but both very finely in their several kinds, and upon their several subjects, which would have made very poor work in common hands: I was so pleased with the last (I mean the fashion of it, rather than the matter, which is old and beaten) that I enquired for what else I could of the same hand, till I met with a small piece concerning poesy, which gave me the same exception to both these authors, whom I should otherwise have been very partial to. For the first could not end his learned treatise without a panegyric of modern learning and knowledge in comparison of the ancient: and the other falls so grossly into the censure of the old poetry, and preference of the new, that I could not read either of these strains without some indignation, which no quality among men is so apt to raise in me as sufficiency, the worst composition out of the pride and ignorance of mankind. But these two being not the only persons of the age that defend these opinions, it may be worth examining, how far either reason or experience can be allowed to plead or determine in their favour.

The force of all that I have met with upon this subject, either in talk or writings, is, first, as to

knowledge; that we must have more than the ancients, because we have the advantage both of theirs and our own, which is commonly illustrated by the similitude of a dwarf's standing upon a giant's shoulders, and seeing more or farther than he. Next, as to wit or genius, that, nature being still the same, these must be much at a rate in all ages, at least in the same climates, as the growth and size of plants and animals commonly are; and if both these are allowed, they think the cause is gained. But I cannot tell why we should conclude, that the ancient writers had not as much advantage from the knowledge of others, that were ancient to them, as we have from those that are ancient to us. The invention of printing has not perhaps multiplied books, but only the copies of them; and if we believe there were six hundred thousand in the library of Ptolemy, we shall hardly pretend to equal it by any of ours, not perhaps by all put together: I mean so many originals, that have lived any time, and thereby given testimony of their having been thought worth preserving. For the scribblers are infinite, that, like mushrooms or flies, are born and die in small circles of time; whereas books, like proverbs, receive their chief value from the stamp and esteem of ages through which they have passed. Besides the account of this library at Alexandria, and others very voluminous in the Lesser Asia and Rome, we have frequent mention of ancient writers in many of those books which we now call ancient, both philosophers and historians. It is true, that, besides what we have in Scripture concerning the original and progress of the Jewish nation, all that passed in the rest of our world, before the Trojan war, is either sunk in the depths of time, wrapped up in the mysteries of fables, or so maimed by the want of testimonies, and loss of authors, that it appears

to us in too obscure a shade to make any judgment upon it. For the fragments of Manethon about the antiquities of Egypt, the relations in Justin concerning the Scythian empire, and many others in Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, as well as the records of China, make such excursions beyond the periods of time given us by the holy Scriptures, that we are not allowed to reason upon them. And this disagreement itself, after so great a part of the world became Christian, may have contributed to the loss of many ancient authors. For Solomon tells us, even in his time, of writing many books there was no end; and whoever considers the subject and the style of Job, which by many is thought more ancient than Moses, will hardly think it was written in an age or country that wanted either books or learning; and yet he speaks of the ancients then, and their wisdom, as we do now.

But if any should so very rashly and presumptuously conclude, that there were few books before those we have either extant or upon record; yet that cannot argue there was no knowledge or learning before those periods of time whereof they give us the short account. Books may be helps to learning and knowledge, and make it more common and diffused; but I doubt whether they are necessary ones or no, or much advance any other science, beyond the particular records of actions or registers of time; and these perhaps might be as long preserved without them, by the care and exactness of tradition in the long successions of certain races of men with whom they were intrusted. So in Mexico and Peru, before the least use or mention of letters, there was remaining among them the knowledge of what had passed in those mighty nations and governments for many ages. Whereas in Ireland, that is said to have flourished in books and learning before they had much progress in

Gaul or Britany, there are now hardly any traces left of what passed there before the conquest made of that country by the English in Henry IId's time. A strange but plain demonstration how knowledge and ignorance, as well as civility and barbarism, may succeed each other in the several countries of the world; how much better the records of time may be kept by tradition in one country than by writing in another; and how much we owe to those learned languages of Greek and Latin, without which, for aught I know, the world in all these Western parts would hardly be known to have been above five or six hundred years old, nor any certainty remain of what passed in it before that time.

It is true, in the Eastern regions, there seems to have been a general custom of the priests, in each country, having been, either by their own choice, or by design of their governments, the perpetual observers of knowledge and story. Only in China, this last was committed particularly to certain officers of State, who were appointed or continued, upon every accession to that Crown, to register distinctly the times and memorable events of each reign. In Æthiopia, Ægypt, Chaldea, Persia, Syria, Judea, these cares were committed wholly to the Priests, who were not less diligent in the registers of times and actions, than in the study and successive propagation thereby of all natural science and philosophy. Whether this was managed by letters or tradition, or by both, it is certain the ancient colleges, or societies of priests, were mighty reservoirs or lakes of knowledge, into which some streams entered perhaps every age, from the observations or inventions of any great spirits or transcendent geniuses, that happened to rise among them; and nothing was lost out of these stores, since the part of conserving what others have gained, either in knowledge or empire, is as common

and easy, as the other is hard and rare among men.

In these soils were planted and cultivated those mighty growths of astronomy, astrology, magic, geometry, natural philosophy, and ancient story. From these sources Orpheus, Homer, Lycurgus, Pythagoras, Plato, and others of the ancients, are acknowledged to have drawn all those depths of knowledge or learning, which have made them so renowned in all succeeding ages. I make a distinction between these two, taking knowledge to be properly meant of things that are generally agreed to be true by consent of those that first found them out, or have been since instructed in them; but learning is the knowledge of the different and contested opinions of men in former ages, and about which they have perhaps never agreed in any; and this makes so much of one, and so little of the other, in the world.

Now to judge whether the ancients or moderns can be probably thought to have made the greatest progress in the search and discoveries of the vast region of truth and nature, it will be worth enquiring, what guides have been used, and what labours employed, by the one and the other, in these noble travels and pursuits.

The modern scholars have their usual recourse to the universities of their countries; some few it may be to those of their neighbours; and this, in quest of books rather than men, for their guides, though these are living, and those, in comparison, but dead instructors; which, like a hand with an inscription, can point out the straight way upon the road, but can neither tell you the next turnings, resolve your doubts, or answer your questions, like a guide that has traced it over, and perhaps knows it as well as his chamber. And who are these dead guides we seek in our journey? They are at best

but some few authors that remain among us, of a great many that wrote in Greek or Latin, from the age of Hippocrates to that of Marcus Antoninus, which reaches not much above six hundred years. Before that time I know none, besides some poets, some fables, and some few epistles; and since that time, I know very few that can pretend to be authors rather than transcribers or commentators, of the ancient learning. Now to consider at what sources our ancients drew their water, and with what unwearied pains. It is evident, Thales and Pythagoras were the two founders of the Grecian philosophy; the first gave beginning to the Ionic sect, and the other to the Italic; out of which, all the others celebrated in Greece or Rome were derived or composed. Thales was the first of the Sophi, or wise men famous in Greece, and is said to have learned his astronomy, geometry, astrology, theology, in his travels from his country Miletus to Egypt, Phœnicia, Crete, and Delphos. Pythagoras was the father of philosophers, and of the virtues; having in modesty chosen the name of a lover of wisdom, rather than of wise; and having first introduced the names of the four cardinal virtues, and given them the place and rank they have held ever since in the world. Of these two mighty men remain no writings at all; for those golden verses that go under the name of Pythagoras, are generally rejected as spurious, like many other fragments of Sibyls, or old poets, and some entire poems that run with ancient names: nor is it agreed, whether he ever left any thing written to his scholars or cotemporaries; or whether all that learned of him, did it not by the ear and memory; and all that remained of him, for some succeeding ages, were not by tradition. But, whether these ever writ or no, they were the fountains out of which the following Greek philosophers drew all

those streams that have since watered the studies of the learned world, and furnished the voluminous writings of so many sects, as passed afterwards under the common name of philosophers.

As there were guides to those that we call ancients, so there were others that were guides to them, in whose search they travelled far and laboured long.

There is nothing more agreed, than that all the learning of the Greeks was deduced originally from Ægypt or Phœnicia; but, whether theirs might not have flourished to that degree it did, by the commerce of the Æthiopians, Chaldeans, Arabians, and Indians, is not so evident (though I am very apt to believe it), and to most of these regions some of the Grecians travelled in search of those golden mines of learning and knowledge: not to mention the voyages of Orpheus, Musæus, Lycurgus, Thales, Solon, Democritus, Herodotus, Plato, and that vain sophist, Apollonius, (who was but an ape of the ancient philosophers) I shall only trace those of Pythagoras, who seems, of all others, to have gone the farthest upon this design, and to have brought home the greatest treasures. He went first to Ægypt, where he spent two and twenty years in study and conversation, among the several colleges of priests, in Memphis, Thebes, and Heliopolis, was initiated in all their several mysteries, in order to gain admittance and instruction in the learning and sciences that were there in their highest ascendent. Twelve years he spent in Babylon, and in the studies and learning of the priests or Magi of the Chaldeans. Besides these long abodes in those two regions celebrated for ancient learning, and where one author, according to their calculations, says, he gained the observations of innumerable ages, he travelled likewise upon the same scent into Æthiopia, Arabia, India, to Crete,

to Delphos, and to all the oracles that were renowned in any of these regions.

What sort of mortals some of those may have been, that he went so far to seek, I shall only endeavour to trace out, by the most ancient accounts that are given of the Indian Brachmans, since those of the learned or sages in the other countries occur more frequent in story. These were all of one race or tribe, that was kept chaste from any other mixture, and were dedicated wholly to the service of the Gods, to the studies of wisdom and nature, and to the counsel of their Princes. There was not only particular care taken of their birth and nurture, but even from their conception. For when a woman among them was known to have conceived, much thought and diligence was employed about her diet and entertainments, so far as to furnish her with pleasant imaginations, to compose her mind and her sleeps, with the best temper, during the time she carried her burden. This I take to be a strain beyond all the Grecian wit, or the constitutions even of their imaginary lawgivers, who began their cares of mankind only after their birth, and none before. Those of the Brachmans continued in the same degree for their education and instruction, in which, and their studies, and discipline of their colleges, or separate abodes in woods and fields, they spent thirty-seven years. Their learning and institutions were unwritten, and only traditional among themselves, by a perpetual succession. Their opinions in natural philosophy were, that the world was round, that it had a beginning, and would have an end, but reckoned both by immense periods of time; that the author of it was a Spirit, or a Mind, that pervaded the whole universe, and was diffused through all the parts of it. They held the transmigration of souls, and some used discourses of infernal man-

sions, in many things like those of Plato. Their moral philosophy consisted chiefly in preventing all diseases or distempers of the body, from which they esteemed the perturbation of mind, in a great measure, to arise; then, in composing the mind, and exempting it from all anxious cares, esteeming the troublesome and solicitous thoughts, about past and future, to be like so many dreams, and no more to be regarded. They despised both life and death, pleasure and pain, or at least thought them perfectly indifferent. Their justice was exact and exemplary; their temperance so great, that they lived upon rice or herbs, and upon nothing that had sensitive life. If they fell sick, they counted it such a mark of intemperance, that they would frequently die out of shame and sullenness; but many lived a hundred and fifty, and some two hundred years.

Their wisdom was so highly esteemed, that some of them were always employed to follow the courts of their Kings, to advise them upon all occasions, and instruct them in justice and piety; and upon this regard, Calanus, and some others, are said to have followed the camp of Alexander, after his conquest of one of their Kings. The magical operations, reported of them, are so wonderful, that they must either be wholly disbelieved, or will make easy way for the credit of all those that we so often meet with in the latter relations of the Indies. Above all the rest, their fortitude was most admirable in their patience and endurance of all evils, of pain, and of death; some standing, sitting, lying, without any motion whole days together in the scorching sun; others standing whole nights upon one leg, and holding up a heavy piece of wood or stone in both hands: without ever moving (which might be done, upon some sort of penances usual among them). They frequently end-

ed their lives by their own choice, and not necessity, and most usually by fire; some upon sickness; others upon misfortunes; some upon mere satiety of life: so Calanus, in Alexander's time, burnt himself publicly, upon growing old and infirm; Zormanochages, in the time of Augustus, upon his constant health and felicity, and to prevent his living so long as to fall into diseases or misfortunes. These were the Brachmans of India, by the most ancient relations remaining of them, and which, compared with our modern (since navigation and trade have discovered so much of those vast countries) make it easy to conjecture that the present Baniams have derived from them many of their customs and opinions, which are still very like them, after the course of two thousand years. For how long nations, without the changes introduced by conquest, may continue in the same customs, institutions, and opinions, will be easily observed, in the stories of the Peruvians and Mexicans, of the Chineses and Scythians: these last being described by Herodotus, to lodge always in carts, and to feed commonly upon the milk of mares, as the Tartars are reported to do at this time, in many parts of those vast northern regions.

From these famous Indians, it seems to be most probable, that Pythagoras learned and transported into Greece and Italy the greatest part of his natural and moral philosophy, rather than from the Egyptians, as is commonly supposed; for I have not observed any mention of the transmigration of souls, held among the Egyptians, more ancient than the time of Pythagoras: on the contrary, Orpheus is said to have brought out of Egypt all his mystical theology, with the stories of the Stygian lake, Charon, the infernal judges, which were wrought up by the succeeding poets (with a mixture of the Cretan tales, or traditions) into that

part of the Pagan religion, so long observed by the Greeks and Romans. Now it is obvious, that this was in all parts very different from the Pythagorean opinion of transmigration, which, though it was preserved long among some of the succeeding philosophers, yet never entered into the vulgar belief of Greece or Italy.

Nor does it seem unlikely that the Egyptians themselves might have drawn much of their learning from the Indians; for they are observed, in some authors, to have done it from the Æthiopians; and chronologers, I think, agree, that these were a colony that came anciently from the river Indus, and planted themselves upon that part of Africa, which from the name was afterwards called Æthiopia, and in all probability brought their learning and their customs with them. The Phœnicians are likewise said to have been anciently a colony that came from the Red Sea, and planted themselves upon the Mediterranean; and from thence spread so far the fame of their learning and their navigations.

To strengthen this conjecture, of much learning being derived from such remote and ancient fountains as the Indies, and perhaps China; it may be asserted with great evidence, that though we know little of the antiquities of India, beyond Alexander's time, yet those of China are the oldest that any where pretend to any fair records; for these are agreed, by the missionary Jesuits, to extend so far above four thousand years, and with such appearance of clear and undeniable testimonies, that those religious men themselves, rather than question their truth, by finding them contrary to the vulgar chronology of the Scripture, are content to have recourse to that of the Septuagint, and thereby to salve the appearances in those records of the Chineses. Now though we have been deprived of

the knowledge of what course learning may have held, and to what heights it may have soared, in that vast region, and during so great antiquity of time, by reason of the savage ambition of one of their Kings, who, desirous to begin the period of history from his own reign, ordered all books to be burnt, except those of physic and agriculture; so that what we have remaining besides, of that wise and ancient nation, is but what was either by chance, or by private industry, rescued out of that public calamity (among which were a copy of the records and successions of the crown); yet it is observable and agreed, that as the opinions of the learned among them are at present, so they were anciently, divided into two sects, whereof one held the transmigration of souls, and the other the eternity of matter, comparing the world to a great mass of metal, out of which some parts are continually made up into a thousand various figures, and after certain periods melted down again into the same mass. That there were many volumes written of old in natural philosophy among them; that, near the age of Socrates, lived their great and renowned Confutius, who began the same design of reclaiming men from the useless and endless speculations of nature, to those of morality; but with this difference, that the bent of the Grecian seems to be chiefly upon the happiness of private men or families, but that of the Chinese, upon the good temperament and felicity of such kingdoms or governments as that was, and is known to have continued for several thousands of years; and may be properly called a government of learned men, since no other are admitted into charges of the State.

For my own part, I am much inclined to believe, that, in these remote regions, not only Pythagoras earned the first principles, both of his natural and

moral philosophy; but that those of Democritus (who travelled into Egypt, Chaldea, and India, and whose doctrines were after improved by Epicurus) might have been derived from the same fountains; and that, long before them both, Lycurgus, who likewise travelled into India, brought from thence also the chief principles of his laws and politics, so much renowned in the world.

For whoever observes the account already given of the ancient Indian and Chinese learning and opinions, will easily find among them the seeds of all these Grecian productions and institutions: as the transmigration of souls, and the four cardinal virtues; the long silence enjoined his scholars, and propagation of their doctrines by tradition, rather than letters, and abstinence from all meats that had animal life, introduced by Pythagoras: the eternity of matter, with perpetual changes of form, the indolence of body, and tranquillity of mind, by Epicurus: and among those of Lycurgus, the care of education from the birth of children, the austere temperance of diet, the patient endurance of toil and pain, the neglect or contempt of life, the use of gold and silver only in their temples, the defence of commerce with strangers, and several others by him established among the Spartans, seem all to be wholly Indian, and different from any race or vein of thought or imagination, that have ever appeared in Greece, either in that age, or any since.

It may look like a paradox, to deduce learning from regions accounted commonly so barbarous and rude. And it is true, the generality of people were always so, in those eastern countries, and their lives wholly turned to agriculture, to mechanics, or to trades: but this does not hinder particular races or successions of men (the design of whose thought and time was turned wholly to learning and knowledge) from having been what they

are represented, and what they deserve to be esteemed; since among the Gauls, the Goths, and the Peruvians themselves, there have been such races of men under the name of Druids, Bards, Amautas, Runers, and other barbarous appellations.

Besides, I know no circumstances like to contribute more to the advancement of knowledge and learning among men, than exact temperance in their races, great pureness of air, and equality of climate, long tranquillity of empire or government: and all these we may justly allow to those eastern regions, more than any others we are acquainted with, at least till the conquest made by the Tartars upon both India and China, in the latter centuries. However it may be as pardonable, to derive some parts of learning from thence, as to go so far for the game of chess, which some curious and learned men have deduced from India into Europe, by two several roads, that is, by Persia into Greece, and by Arabia into Afric and Spain.

Thus much I thought might be allowed me to say, for the giving some idea of what those sages or learned men were, or may have been, who were ancients to those that are ancients to us. Now to observe what these have been, is more easy and obvious. The most ancient Grecians that we are at all acquainted with, after Lycurgus, who was certainly a great philosopher as well as lawgiver, were the seven sages: though the Court of Crœsus is said to have been much resorted to, by the sophists of Greece, in the happy beginnings of his reign. And some of these seven seem to have brought most of the sciences out of Egypt and Phœnica, into Greece; particularly those of astronomy, astrology, geometry, and arithmetic. These were soon followed by Pythagoras (who seems to have introduced natural and moral philosophy) and by several of his followers, both in

Greece and Italy. But of all these there remains nothing in writing now among us; so that Hippocrates, Plato, and Xenophon, are the first philosophers, whose works have escaped the injuries of time. But that we may not conclude the first writers we have of the Grecians were the first learned or wise among them; we shall find upon enquiry, that the more ancient sages of Greece appear, by the characters remaining of them, to have been much the greater men. They were generally princes or lawgivers of their countries, or at least offered and invited to be so, either of their own or of others, that desired them to frame or reform their several institutions of civil government. They were commonly excellent poets, and great physicians: they were so learned in natural philosophy, that they foretold not only eclipses in the heavens, but earthquakes at land, and storms at sea, great droughts, and great plagues, much plenty, or much scarcity of certain sorts of fruits or grain; not to mention the magical powers attributed to several of them, to allay storms, to raise gales, to appease commotions of people, to make plagues cease; which qualities, whether upon any ground of truth or no, yet, if well believed, must have raised them to that strange height they were at, of common esteem and honour, in their own and succeeding ages.

By all this may be determined, whether our moderns or our ancients may have had the greater and the better guides, and which of them have taken the greater pains, and with the more application in the pursuit of knowledge. And, I think, it is enough to shew, that the advantages we have from those we call the ancients, may not be greater, than what they had from those that were so to them.

But after all, I do not know whether the high

flights of wit and knowledge, like those of power and of empire in the world, may not have been made by the pure native force of spirit or genius, in some single men, rather than by any derived strength among them, however increased by succession; and whether they may not have been the atchievements of nature, rather than the improvements of art. Thus the conquests of Ninus and Semiramis, of Alexander and Tamerlane, which I take to have been the greatest recorded in story, were at their height in those persons that began them; and so far from being increased by their successors, that they were not preserved in their extent and vigour by any of them, grew weaker in every hand they passed through, or were divided into many, that set up for great Princes, out of several small ruins of the first empires, till they withered away in time, or were lost by the change of names, and forms of families or governments.

Just the same fate seems to have attended the highest flights of learning and of knowledge, that are upon our registers. Thales, Pythagoras, Democritus, Hippocrates, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, were the first mighty conquerors of ignorance in our world, and made greater progresses in the several empires of science, than any of their successors have been since able to reach. These have hardly ever pretended more, than to learn what the others taught, to remember what they invented, and, not able to compass that itself, they have set up for authors upon some parcels of those great stocks, or else have contented themselves only to comment upon those texts, and make the best copies they could, after those originals.

I have long thought, that the different abilities of men, which we call wisdom or prudence for the conduct of public affairs or private life, grow directly out of that little grain of intellect or good

sense which they bring with them into the world; and that the defect of it in men comes from some want in their conception or birth.

> Dixitque semel nascentibus auctor,
> Quicquid scire licet.

And though this may be improved or impaired in some degree, by accidents of education, of study, and of conversation and business, yet it cannot go beyond the reach of its native force, no more than life can beyond the period to which it was destined by the strength or weakness of the seminal virtue.

If these speculations should be true, then I know not what advantages we can pretend to modern knowledge, by any we receive from the ancients: nay it is possible, men may lose rather than gain by them; may lessen the force and growth of their own genius, by constraining and forming it upon that of others; may have less knowledge of their own, for contenting themselves with that of those before them. So a man, that only translates, shall never be a poet, nor a painter that only copies, nor a swimmer that swims always with bladders. So people that trust wholly to others charity, and without industry of their own, will be always poor. Besides, who can tell, whether learning may not even weaken invention, in a man that has great advantages from nature and birth; whether the weight and number of so many other men's thoughts and notions may not suppress his own, or hinder the motion and agitation of them, from which all invention arises; as heaping on wood, or too many sticks, or too close together, suppresses, and sometimes quite extinguishes, a little spark that would otherwise have grown up to a noble flame. The strength of mind, as well as of body, grows more from the warmth of exercise, than of cloaths; nay, too much of this foreign heat rather makes men

faint, and their constitutions tender or weaker, than they would be without them. Let it come about how it will, if we are dwarfs, we are still so though we stand upon a giant's shoulders; and even so placed, yet we see less than he, if we are naturally shorter sighted, or if we do not look as much about us, or if we are dazzled with the height, which often happens from weakness either of heart or brain.

In the growth and stature of souls, as well as bodies, the common productions are of indifferent sizes, that occasion no gazing, nor no wonder: but, though there are or have been sometimes dwarfs and sometimes giants in the world, yet it does not follow that there must be such in every age, nor in every country: this we can no more conclude, than that there never have been any, because there are none now, at least in the compass of our present knowledge or enquiry. As I believe there may have been giants at some time, and some place or other in the world, or such a stature, as may not have been equalled perhaps again in several thousands of years, or in any other parts; so there may be giants in wit and knowledge, of so overgrown a size, as not to be equalled again in many successions of ages, or any compass of place or country. Such, I am sure, Lucretius esteems and describes Epicurus to have been, and to have risen, like a prodigy of invention and knowledge, such as had not been before, nor was like to be again; and I know not why others of the ancients may not be allowed to have been as great in their kinds, and to have built as high, though upon different schemes or foundations. Because there is a stag's head at Amboyse of a most prodigious size, and a large table at Memorancy cut out of the thickness of a vine-stock, is it necessary, that there must be, every age, such a stag in every great forest, or

such a vine in every large vineyard; or that the productions of nature, in any kind, must be still alike, or something near it, because nature is still the same? May there not many circumstances concur to one production, that do not to any other, in one or many ages? In the growth of a tree, there is the native strength of the seed, both from the kind, and from the perfections of its ripening, and from the health and vigour of the plant that bore it: there is the degree of strength and excellence in that vein of earth where it first took root: there is a propriety of soil, suited to the kind of tree that grows in it: there is a great favour or disfavour to its growth, from accidents of water and of shelter, from the kindness or unkindness of seasons, till it be past the need or the danger of them. All these, and perhaps many others, joined with the propitiousness of climate to that sort of tree, and the length of age it shall stand and grow, may produce an oak, a fig or a plane-tree, that shall deserve to be renowned in story, and shall not perhaps be paralleled in other countries or times.

May not the same have happened in the production, growth, and size of wit and genius in the world, or in some parts or ages of it, and from many more circumstances that contributed towards it, than what may concur to the stupendous growth of a tree or animal? May there not have been, in Greece or Italy of old, such prodigies of invention and learning in philosophy, mathematics, physic, oratory, poetry, that none has ever since approached them, as well as there were in painting, statuary, architecture? And yet their unparalleled and inimitable excellencies in these are undisputed.

Science and arts have run their circles, and had their periods in the several parts of the world: they are generally agreed to have held their course from

East to West, to have begun in Chaldea and Egypt, to have been transplanted from thence to Greece, from Greece to Rome; to have sunk there, and, after many ages, to have revived from those ashes, and to have sprung up again both in Italy and other more western provinces of Europe. When Chaldea and Egypt were learned and civil, Greece and Rome were as rude and barbarous as all Egypt and Syria now are, and have been long. When Greece and Rome were at their heights in arts and sciences, Gaul, Germany, Britain, were as ignorant and barbarous, as any parts of Greece or Turkey can be now.

These, and greater changes, are made in the several countries of the world, and courses of time, by the revolutions of empire, the devastations of armies, the cruelties of conquering and the calamities of enslaved nations; by the violent inundations of water in some countries, and the cruel ravages of plagues in others. These sorts of accidents sometimes lay them so waste, that, when they rise again, it is from such low beginnings, that they look like new-created regions, or growing out of the original state of mankind, and without any records or remembrances, beyond certain short periods of time. Thus that vast continent of Norway is said to have been so wholly desolated by a plague, about eight or nine hundred years ago, that it was for some ages following a very desart, and since all over-grown with wood: and Ireland was so spoiled and wasted by the conquest of the Scutes and Danes, that there hardly remains any story or tradition what that island was, how planted or governed about five hundred years ago. What changes have been made by violent storms and inundations of the sea in the maritime provinces of the Low-Countries, is hard to know, or to believe what is told, nor how ignorant they have left us

of all that passed there before a certain and short period of time.

The accounts of many other countries would perhaps as hardly, and as late, have waded out of the depths of time, and gulphs of ignorance, had it not been for the assistances of those two languages, to which we owe all we have of learning or ancient records in the world. For whether we have any thing of the old Chaldean, Hebrew, Arabian, that is truly genuine or more ancient than the Augustan age, I am much in doubt; yet it is probable the vast Alexandrian library must have chiefly consisted of books composed in those languages, with the Egyptian, Syrian, and Æthiopic, or at least translated out of them by the care of the Egyptian kings or priests, as the Old Testament was, wherein the Septuagints employed left their names to that famous translation.

It is very true and just, all that is said of the mighty progress that learning and knowledge have made in these western parts of Europe, within these hundred and fifty years; but that does not conclude, it must be at a greater height than it had been in other countries, where it was growing much longer periods of time; it argues more how low it was then amongst us, rather than how high it is now.

Upon the fall of the Roman empire, almost all learning was buried in its ruins: the Northern nations that conquered, or rather overwhelmed it by their numbers, were too barbarous to preserve the remains of learning or civility, more carefully than they did those of statuary or architecture, which fell before their brutish rage. The Saracens indeed, from their conquests of Egypt, Syria, and Greece, carried home great spoils of learning, as well as other riches, and gave the original of all that knowledge, which flourished for some time

among the Arabians, and has since been copied out of many authors among them, as theirs have been out of those of the countries they had subdued; nor indeed do learning, civility, morality, seem any where to have made a greater growth, in so short a time, than in that empire, nor to have flourished more than in the reign of their great Almanzor, under whose victorious ensigns Spain was conquered by the Moors; but the Goths, and all the rest of those Scythian swarms that from beyond the Danube and the Elbe, under so many several names, over-ran all Europe, took very hardly and very late any tincture of the learning and humanity that had flourished in the several regions of it, under the protection and by the example and instructions of the Romans, that had so long possessed them: those Northern nations were indeed easier induced to embrace the religion of those they had subdued, and by their devotion gave great authority and revenues, and thereby ease, to the clergy, both secular and regular, through all their conquests. Great numbers of the better sort among the oppressed natives, finding this vein among them, and no other way to be safe and quiet under such rough masters, betook themselves to the profession and assemblies of religious orders and fraternities, and among those only were preserved all the poor remainders of learning in these several countries.

But these good men either contented themselves with their devotion, or with the ease of quiet lives, or else employed their thoughts and studies to raise and maintain the esteem and authority of that sacred order, to which they owed the safety and repose, the wealth and honour they enjoyed. And in this they so well succeeded, that the conquerors were governed by those they had subdued, the greatest Princes by the meanest Priests, and the vic-

torious Franks and Lombard Kings fell at the feet of the Roman Prelates.

Whilst the clergy were busied in these thoughts or studies, the better sort among the laity were wholly turned to arms and to honour, the meaner sort to labour or to spoil; Princes taken up with wars among themselves, or in those of the Holy Land, or between the Popes and Emperors upon disputes of the ecclesiastical and secular powers; learning so little in use among them, that few could write or read, besides those of the long robes. During this course of time, which lasted many ages in the western parts of Europe, the Greek tongue was wholly lost, and the purity of the Roman to that degree, that what remained of it was only a certain jargon rather than Latin, that passed among the Monks and Friars who were at all learned; and among the students of the several universities, which served to carry them to Rome in pursuit of preferments or causes depending there, and little else.

When the Turks took Constantinople, about two hundred years ago, and soon after possessed themselves of all Greece, the poor natives, fearing the tyranny of those cruel masters, made their escapes in great numbers to the neighbouring parts of Christendom, some by the Austrian territories into Germany, others by the Venetian into Italy and France; several that were learned among these Grecians (and brought many ancient books with them in that language) began to teach it in these countries; first to gain subsistence, and afterwards favour in some Princes or great men's courts, who began to take a pleasure or pride in countenancing learned men. Thus began the restoration of learning in these parts, with that of the Greek tongue; and soon after, Reuchlyn and Erasmus began that of the purer and ancient Latin. After them, Bu-

chanan carried it, I think, to the greatest height of any of the moderns before or since. The Monkish Latin upon his return was laughed out of doors, and remains only in the inns of Germany or Poland; and with the restitution of these two noble languages, and the books remaining of them (which many Princes and Prelates were curious to recover and collect) learning of all sorts began to thrive in these Western regions: and since that time, and in the first succeeding century, made perhaps a greater growth than in any other that we know of in such a compass of time, considering into what depths of ignorance it was sunk before.

But why from thence should be concluded, that it has out-grown all that was ancient, I see no reason. If a strong and vigorous man at thirty years old should fall into a consumption, and so draw on till fifty in the extremest weakness and infirmity; after that, should begin to recover health till sixty; so as to be again as strong as men usually are at that age: it might perhaps truly be said in that case, that he had grown more in strength that last ten years than any others of his life, but not that he was grown to more strength and vigour than he had at thirty years old.

But what are the sciences wherein we pretend to excel? I know of no new philosophers, that have made entries upon that noble stage for fifteen hundred years past, unless Des Cartes and Hobbs should pretend to it; of whom I shall make no critique here, but only say, that, by what appears of learned men's opinions in this age, they have by no means eclipsed the lustre of Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, or others of the ancients. For grammar or rhetoric, no man ever disputed it with them; nor for poetry, that ever I heard of, besides the new French author I have mentioned; and against

whose opinion there could, I think, never have been given stronger evidence, than by his own poems, printed together with that treatise.

There is nothing new in Astronomy, to vie with the ancients, unless it be the Copernican system; nor in Physic, unless Harvey's circulation of the blood. But whether either of these be modern discoveries, or derived from old fountains, is disputed: nay, it is so too, whether they are true or no; for, though reason may seem to favour them more than the contrary opinions, yet sense can very hardly allow them; and, to satisfy mankind, both these must concur. But if they are true, yet these two great discoveries have made no change in the conclusions of Astronomy, nor in the practice of Physic; and so have been of little use to the world, though perhaps of much honour to the authors.

What are become of the charms of Music, by which men and beasts, fishes, fowls, and serpents, were so frequently enchanted, and their very natures changed; by which the passions of men were raised to the greatest height and violence, and then as suddenly appeased, so as they might be justly said to be turned into lions or lambs, into wolves or into harts, by the powers and charms of this admirable art? It is agreed by the learned, that the science of music, so admired of the ancients, is wholly lost in the world; and that what we have now, is made up out of certain notes that fell into the fancy or observation of a poor frier, in chanting his matins. So as those two divine excellencies of music and poetry are grown, in a manner, to be little more but the one fiddling, and the other rhyming; and are indeed very worthy the ignorance of the frier, and the barbarousness of the Goths, that introduced them among us.

What have we remaining of Magic, by which the Indians, the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, were

so renowned, and by which effects so wonderful, and to common men so astonishing, were produced, as made them have recourse to Spirits, or supernatural Powers, for some account of their strange operations? By Magic, I mean some excelling knowledge of nature, and the various powers and qualities of its several productions, and the application of certain agents to certain patients, which, by force of some peculiar qualities, produce effects very different from what fall under vulgar observation or comprehension. These are by ignorant people called Magic or Conjuring, and such like terms; and an account of them, much about as wise, is given by the common learned, from Sympathies, Antipathies, Idiosyncrasies, Talismans, and some scraps or terms left us by the Egyptians or Grecians, of the ancient magic; but the science seems, with several others, to be wholly lost.

What traces have we left of that admirable science or skill in Architecture, by which such stupendous fabrics have been raised of old, and so many of the wonders of the world been produced, and which are so little approached by our modern atchievements of this sort, that they hardly fall within our imagination? not to mention the walls and palace of Babylon, the pyramids of Egypt, the tomb of Mausolus, or colosse of Rhodes, the temples and palaces of Greece and Rome: what can be more admirable in this kind than the Roman theatres, their aqueducts, and their bridges, among which that of Trajan over the Danube seems to have been the last flight of the ancient architecture. The stupendous effects of this science sufficiently evince at what heights the Mathematics were among the ancients: but if this be not enough, whoever would be satisfied, need go no further than the siege of Syracuse, and that mighty defence made against the Roman power, more by the won-

derful science and arts of Archimedes, and almost magical force of his engines, than by all the strength of the city, or number and bravery of the inhabitants.

The greatest invention that I know of, in latter ages, has been that of the loadstone; and consequently, the greatest improvement has been made in the art of Navigation: yet there must be allowed to have been something stupendous in the numbers, and in the built of their ships and galleys of old; and the skill of pilots, from the observation of the stars in the more serene climates, may be judged by the navigations so celebrated in story of the Tyrians and Carthaginians, not to mention other nations. However, it is to this we owe the discovery and commerce of so many vast countries, which were very little, if at all, known to the ancients, and the experimental proof of this terrestrial globe, which was before only speculation, but has since been surrounded by the fortune and boldness of several navigators. From this great though fortuitous invention, and the consequences thereof, it must be allowed that Geography is mightily advanced in these latter ages. The vast continents of China, the East and West-Indies, the long extent and coasts of Africa, with the numberless islands belonging to them, have been hereby introduced into our acquaintance, and our maps; and great increases of wealth and luxury, but none of knowledge, brought among us, further than the extent and situation of country, the customs and manners of so many original nations, which we call barbarous; and I am sure have treated them as if we hardly esteemed them to be a part of mankind. I do not doubt, but many great and more noble uses would have been made of such conquests or discoveries, if they had fallen to the share of the Greeks and Romans, in those ages when knowledge

and fame were in as great request as endless gains and wealth are among us now; and how much greater discoveries might have been made, by such spirits as theirs, is hard to guess. I am sure, ours, though great, yet look very imperfect, as to what the face of this terrestrial globe would probably appear, if they had been pursued as far as we might justly have expected from the progresses of navigation since the use of the compass, which seems to have been long at a stand: how little has been performed of what has been so often and so confidently promised, of a north-west passage to the East of Tartary, and North of China? How little do we know of the lands on that side of the Magellan Straits that lie towards the south pole, which may be vast islands or continents, for aught any can yet aver, though that passage was so long since found out? Whether Japan be island or continent, with some parts of Tartary on the north side, is not certainly agreed. The lands of Yedso upon the north-east continent have been no more than coasted; and whether they may not join to the northern continent of America, is by some doubted.

But the defect or negligence seems yet to have been greater towards the South, where we know little beyond thirty-five degrees, and that only by the necessity of doubling the Cape of Good Hope in our East-India voyages: yet a continent has been long since found out within fifteen degrees to South, and about the length of Java, which is marked by the name of New Holland in the maps, and to what extent none knows, either to the South, the East, or the West; yet the learned have been of opinion, that there must be a balance of earth on that side of the line in some proportion to what there is on the other; and that it cannot be all sea from thirty degrees to the South pole, since we have found land to above sixty-five

degrees towards the North. But our navigators that way have been confined to the roads of trade, and our discoveries bounded by what we can manage to a certain degree of gain. And I have heard it said among the Dutch, that their East-India Company have long since forbidden, and under the greatest penalties, any further attempts of discovering that continent, having already more trade in those parts than they can turn to account, and fearing some more populous nation of Europe might make great establishments of trade in some of those unknown regions, which might ruin or impair what they have already in the Indies.

Thus we are lame still in geography itself, which we might have expected to run up to so much greater perfection by the use of the compass; and it seems to have been little advanced these last hundred years. So far have we been from improving upon those advantages we have received from the knowledge of the ancients, that, since the late restoration of learning and arts among us, our first flights seem to have been the highest, and a sudden damp to have fallen upon our wings, which has hindered us from rising above certain heights. The arts of Painting and Statuary began to revive with learning in Europe, and made a great but short flight; so as, for these last hundred years, we have not had one master in either of them who deserved a rank with those that flourished in that short period after they began among us.

It were too great a mortification to think, that the same fate has happened to us, even in our modern learning; as if the growth of that, as well as of natural bodies, had some short periods, beyond which it could not reach, and after which it must begin to decay. It falls in one country or one age, and rises again in others, but never beyond a certain pitch. One man, or one country, at a

certain time runs a great length in some certain kinds of knowledge, but loses as much ground in others, that were perhaps as useful and as valuable. There is a certain degree of capacity in the greatest vessel, and, when it is full, if you pour in still, it must run out some way or other; and the more it runs out on one side, the less runs out at the other. So the greatest memory, after a certain degree, as it learns or retains more of some things or words, loses and forgets as much of others. The largest and deepest reach of thought, the more it pursues some certain subjects, the more it neglects others.

Besides, few men or none excel in all faculties of mind. A great memory may fail of invention; both may want judgment to digest or apply what they remember or invent. Great courage may want caution; great prudence may want vigour; yet are all necessary to make a great commander. But how can a man hope to excel in all qualities, when some are produced by the heat, others by the coldness of brain and temper? The abilities of man must fall short on one side or other, like too scanty a blanket when you are a-bed; if you pull it upon your shoulders, you leave your feet bare; if you thrust it down upon your feet, your shoulders are uncovered.

But what would we have, unless it be other natures and beings than God Almighty has given us? The height of our statures may be six or seven feet, and we would have it sixteen; the length of our age may reach to a hundred years, and we would have it a thousand: we are born to grovel upon the earth, and we would fain soar up to the skies. We cannot comprehend the growth of a kernel or seed, the frame of an ant or bee; we are amazed at the wisdom of the one, and industry of the other; and yet we will know the substance,

the figure, the courses, the influences of all those glorious celestial bodies, and the end for which they were made: we pretend to give a clear account how thunder and lightning (that great artillery of God Almighty) is produced, and we cannot comprehend how the voice of a man is framed, that poor little noise we make every time we speak. The motion of the sun is plain and evident to some astronomers, and of the earth to others; yet we none of us know which of them moves, and meet with many seeming impossibilities in both, and beyond the fathom of human reason or comprehension. Nay, we do not so much as know what motion is, nor how a stone moves from our hand, when we throw it cross the street. Of all these that most ancient and divine writer gives the best account in that short satire, "Vain "man would fain be wise, when he is born like a "wild ass's colt."

But, God be thanked, his pride is greater than his ignorance; and what he wants in knowledge, he supplies by sufficiency. When he has looked about him as far as he can, he concludes there is no more to be seen; when he is at the end of his line, he is at the bottom of the ocean; when he has shot his best, he is sure none ever did nor ever can shoot better or beyond it. His own reason is the certain measure of truth, his own knowledge, of what is possible in nature; though his mind and his thoughts change every seven years, as well as his strength and his features; nay, though his opinions change every week or every day, yet he is sure, or at least confident, that his present thoughts and conclusions are just and true, and cannot be deceived: and, among all the miseries to which mankind is born and subjected in the whole course of his life, he has this one felicity to comfort and support him, that, in all ages, in all

things, every man is always in the right. A boy at fifteen is wiser than his father at forty, the meanest subject than his Prince or Governors; and the modern scholars, because they have, for a hundred years past, learned their lesson pretty well, are much more knowing than the ancients their masters.

But let it be so, and proved by good reasons, is it so by experience too? Have the studies, the writings, the productions of Gresham college, or the late academies of Paris, outshined or eclipsed the Lycæum of Plato, the academy of Aristotle, the Stoa of Zeno, the garden of Epicurus? Has Harvey outdone Hippocrates; or Wilkins, Archimedes? Are D'Avila's and Strada's histories beyond those of Herodotus and Livy? Are Sleyden's commentaries beyond those of Cæsar? the flights of Boileau above those of Virgil? If all this must be allowed, I will then yield Gondibert to have excelled Homer, as is pretended; and the modern French poetry, all that of the ancients. And yet, I think, it may be as reasonably said, that the plays in Moorfields are beyond the Olympic games; a Welsh or Irish harp excels those of Orpheus and Arion; the pyramid in London, those of Memphis; and the French conquests in Flanders are greater than those of Alexander and Cæsar, as their operas and panegyrics would make us believe.

But the consideration of poetry ought to be a subject by itself. For the books we have in prose, do any of the modern we converse with appear of such a spirit and force, as if they would live longer than the ancient have done? If our wit and eloquence, our knowledge or inventions, would deserve it, yet our languages would not: there is no hope of their lasting long, nor of any thing in them; they change every hundred years so as to

be hardly known for the same, or any thing of the former styles to be endured by the latter; so as they can no more last like the ancients, than excellent carvings in wood like those in marble or brass.

The three modern tongues most esteemed are Italian, Spanish, and French, all imperfect dialects of the noble Roman; first mingled and corrupted with the harsh words and terminations of those many different and barbarous nations, by whose invasions and excursions the Roman empire was long infested: they were afterwards made up into these several languages, by long and popular use, out of those ruins and corruptions of Latin, and the prevailing languages of those nations to which these several provinces came in time to be most and longest subjected (as the Goths and Moors in Spain, the Goths and Lombards in Italy, the Franks in Gaul), besides a mingle of those tongues which were original to Gaul and to Spain before the Roman conquests and establishments there. Of these, there may be some remainders in Biscay or the Asturias; but I doubt whether there be any of the old Gallic in France, the subjection there having been more universal, both to the Romans and Franks. But I do not find the mountainous parts on the North of Spain were ever wholly subdued, or formerly governed, either by the Romans, Goths, or Saracens, no more than Wales by Romans, Saxons, or Normans, after their conquests in our island, which has preserved the ancient Biscayan and British more entire, than any native tongue of other provinces, where the Roman and Gothic or Northern conquests reached, and were for any time established.

It is easy to imagine, how imperfect copies these modern languages, thus composed, must needs be of so excellent an original, being patched up out

of the conceptions, as well as sounds, of such barbarous or enslaved people; whereas the Latin was framed or cultivated by the thoughts and uses of the noblest nation that appears upon any record of story, and enriched only by the spoils of Greece, which alone could pretend to contest it with them. It is obvious enough what rapport there is, and must ever be, between the thoughts and words, the conceptions and languages of every country, and how great a difference this must make in the comparison and excellence of books; and how easy and just a preference it must decree to those of the Greek and Latin, before any of the modern languages.

It may perhaps be further affirmed, in favour of the ancients, that the oldest books we have are still in their kind the best. The two most ancient that I know of in prose, among those we call profane authors, are Æsop's Fables and Phalaris's Epistles, both living near the same time, which was that of Cyrus and Pythagoras. As the first has been agreed by all ages since for the greatest master in his kind, and all others of that sort have been but imitations of his original; so I think the Epistles of Phalaris to have more race, more spirit, more force of wit and genius, than any others I have ever seen, either ancient or modern. I know several learned men (or that usually pass for such, under the name of critics) have not esteemed them genuine; and Politian, with some others, have attributed them to Lucian: but I think he must have little skill in painting, that cannot find out this to be an original; such diversity of passions, upon such variety of actions and passages of life and government, such freedom of thought, such boldness of expression, such bounty to his friends, such scorn of his enemies, such honour of learned men, such esteem of good, such knowledge of life,

such contempt of death, with such fierceness of nature and cruelty of revenge, could never be represented but by him that possessed them; and I esteem Lucian to have been no more capable of writing, than of acting what Phalaris did. In all one writ, you find the scholar or the sophist; and in all the other, the tyrant and the commander.

The next to these, in time, are Herodotus, Thucydides, Hippocrates, Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle; of whom I shall say no more than, what I think is allowed by all, that they are in their several kinds inimitable. So are Cæsar, Sallust, and Cicero, in theirs, who are the ancientest of the Latin (I speak still of prose), unless it be some little of old Cato upon rustic affairs.

The height and purity of the Roman style, as it began towards the time of Lucretius, which was about that of the Jugurthin war, so it ended about that of Tiberius; and the last strain of it seems to have been Velleius Paterculus. The purity of the Greek lasted a great deal longer, and must be allowed till Trajan's time, when Plutarch wrote, whose Greek is much more estimable than the Latin of Tacitus his contemporary. After this last, I know none that deserves the name of Latin, in comparison of what went before them, especially in the Augustan age; if any, it is the little treatise of Minutius Felix. All Latin books that we have till the end of Trajan, and all Greek till the end of Marcus Antoninus, have a true and very estimable value. All written since that time seem to me to have little more than what comes from the relation of events we are glad to know, or the controversy of opinions in religion or laws, wherein the busy world has been so much employed.

The great wits among the moderns have been, in my opinion, and in their several kinds, of the

Italian, Boccace, Machiavel, and Padre Paolo; among the Spaniards, Cervantes (who writ Don Quixote) and Guevara; among the French, Rabelais and Montaigne; among the English, Sir Philip Sidney, Bacon, and Selden: I mention nothing of what is written upon the subject of divinity, wherein the Spanish and English pens have been most conversant and most excelled. The modern French are Voiture, Rochefoucault's Memoirs, Bussy's Amadis de Gaul, with several other little relations or memoirs that have run this age, which are very pleasant and entertaining, and seem to have refined the French language to a degree that cannot be well exceeded. I doubt it may have happened there, as it does in all works, that the more they are filed and polished, the less they have of weight and of strength; and as that language has much more fineness and smoothness at this time, so I take it to have had much more force, spirit, and compass in Montaigne's age.

Since those accidents which contributed to the restoration of learning, almost extinguished in the western parts of Europe, have been observed, it will be just to mention some that may have hindered the advancement of it, in proportion to what might have been expected from the mighty growth and progress made in the first age after its recovery. One great reason may have been, that, very soon after the entry of learning upon the scene of Christendom, another was made, by many of the new-learned men, into the enquiries and contests about matters of religion; the manners, and maxims, and institutions introduced by the Clergy for seven or eight centuries past; the authority of Scripture and tradition; of Popes and of Councils; of the ancient Fathers, and of the latter Schoolmen and Casuists; of ecclesiastical and civil power. The humour of travelling into all these mystical or

entangled matters, mingling with the interests and passions of Princes and of parties, and thereby heightened or inflamed, produced infinite disputes, raised violent heats throughout all parts of Christendom, and soon ended in many defections or reformations from the Roman Church, and in several new institutions, both ecclesiastical and civil, in divers countries; which have been since rooted and established in almost all the north-west parts. The endless disputes and litigious quarrels upon all these subjects, favoured and encouraged by the interests of the several Princes engaged in them, either took up wholly, or generally employed, the thoughts, the studies, the applications, the endeavours of all or most of the finest wits, the deepest scholars, and the most learned writers that the age produced. Many excellent spirits, and the most penetrating genii, that might have made admirable progresses and advances in many other sciences, were sunk and overwhelmed in the abyss of disputes about matters of religion, without ever turning their looks or thoughts any other way. To these disputes of the pen, succeeded those of the sword; and the ambition of great Princes and ministers, mingled with the zeal, or covered with the pretences of religion, has for a hundred years past infested Christendom with almost a perpetual course or succession either of civil or of foreign wars; the noise and disorders whereof have been ever the most capital enemies of the Muses, who are seated, by the ancient fables, upon the top of Parnassus, that is, in a place of safety and of quiet from the reach of all noises and disturbances of the regions below.

Another circumstance, that may have hindered the advancement of learning, has been a want or decay of favour in great Kings and Princes, to encourage or applaud it. Upon the first return or re-

covery of this fair stranger among us, all were fond of seeing her, apt to applaud her: she was lodged in palaces instead of cells; and the greatest Kings and Princes of the age took either a pleasure in courting her, or a vanity in admiring her, and in favouring all her train. The Courts of Italy and Germany, of England, of France, of Popes, and of Emperors, thought themselves honoured and adorned by the number and qualities of learned men, and by all the improvements of sciences and arts, wherein they excelled. They were invited from all parts, for the use and entertainment of Kings, for the education and instruction of young Princes, for advice and assistance to the greatest ministers; and, in short, the favour of learning was the humour and mode of the age. Francis I. Charles V. and Henry VIII. (those three great rivals) agreed in this, though in nothing else. Many Nobles pursued this vein with great application and success; among whom, Picus de Mirandula, a sovereign Prince in Italy, might have proved a prodigy of learning, if his studies and life had lasted as long as those of the ancients: for I think all of them that writ much of what we have now remaining, lived old, whereas he died about three-and-thirty, and left the world in admiration of so much knowledge in so much youth. Since those reigns I have not observed, in our modern story, any great Princes much celebrated for their favour of learning, further than to serve their turns, to justify their pretensions and quarrels, or flatter their successes. The honour of Princes has, of late, struck sail to their interests; whereas, of old, their interests, greatness, and conquests, were all dedicated to their glory and fame.

How much the studies and labours of learned men must have been damped, for want of this influence and kind aspect of Princes, may be best conjectured from what happened on the contrary

about the Augustan age, when the learning of Rome was at its height, and perhaps owed it in some degree to the bounty and patronage of that Emperor, and Mæcenas his favourite, as well as to the felicity of the empire, and tranquillity of the age.

The humour of avarice, and greediness of wealth, have been ever, and in all countries where silver and gold have been in price and of current use: but if it be true in particular men, that, as riches increase, the desires of them do so too, may it not be true of the general vein and humour of ages? May they not have turned more to this pursuit of insatiable gains, since the discoveries and plantations of the West-Indies, and those vast treasures that have flowed into these western parts of Europe almost every year, and with such mighty tides for so long a course of time? Where few are rich, few care for it; where many are so, many desire it: and most in time begin to think it necessary. Where this opinion grows generally in a country, the temples of honour are soon pulled down, and all men's sacrifices are made to those of fortune; the soldier as well as the merchant, the scholar as well as the ploughman, the divine and the statesman, as well as the lawyer and physician.

Now I think that nothing is more evident in the world, than that honour is a much stronger principle, both of action and invention, than gain can ever be: that all the great and noble productions of wit and of courage have been inspired and exalted by that alone: that the charming flights and labours of poets, the deep speculations and studies of philosophers, the conquests of Emperors and atchievements of heroes, have all flowed from this one source of honour and fame. The last farewell that Horace takes of his lyric poems, Epicurus of his inventions in philosophy, Augustus of his em-

pire and government, are all of the same strain; and as their lives were entertained, so their age was relieved, and their deaths softened, by the prospect of lying down upon the bed of fame.

Avarice is, on the other side, of all passions the most sordid, the most clogged and covered with dirt and with dross, so that it cannot raise its wings beyond the smell of the earth: it is the pay of common soldiers, as honour is of commanders; and yet, among those themselves, none ever went so far upon the hopes of prey or of spoils, as those that have been spirited by honour or religion. It is no wonder then, that learning has been so little advanced since it grew to be mercenary, and the progress of it has been fettered by the cares of the world, and disturbed by the desires of being rich, or the fears of being poor; from all which, the ancient Philosophers, the Brachmans of India, the Chaldean Magi, the Egyptian Priests, were disentangled and free.

But the last maim given to learning, has been by the scorn of pedantry, which the shallow, the superficial, and the sufficient among scholars first drew upon themselves, and very justly, by pretending to more than they had, or to more esteem than what they could deserve, by broaching it in all places, at all times, upon all occasions, and by living so much among themselves, or in their closets and cells, as to make them unfit for all other business, and ridiculous in all other conversations. As an infection that rises in a town, first falls upon children or weak constitutions, or those that are subject to other diseases, but, spreading further by degrees, seizes upon the most healthy, vigorous, and strong; and when the contagion grows very general, all the neighbours avoid coming into the town, or are afraid of those that are well among them, as much as of those that are sick: just so it fared in

the commonwealth of learning; some poor weak constitutions were first infected with pedantry; the contagion spread, in time, upon some that were stronger; foreigners, that heard there was a plague in the country, grew afraid to come there, and avoided the commerce of the sound, as well as of the diseased. This dislike or apprehension turned, like all fear, to hatred; and hatred to scorn. The rest of the neighbours began first to rail at pedants, then to ridicule them; the learned began to fear the same fate, and that the pigeons should be taken for daws, because they were all in a flock; and because the poorest and meanest of their company were proud, the best and the richest began to be ashamed.

An ingenious Spaniard at Brussels would needs have it, that the history of Don Quixote had ruined the Spanish monarchy; for, before that time, love and valour were all romance among them; every young cavalier that entered the scene, dedicated the services of his life to his honour first, and then to his mistress. They lived and died in this romantic vein; and the old Duke of Alva, in his last Portugal expedition, had a young mistress, to whom the glory of that atchievement was devoted, by which he hoped to value himself, instead of those qualities he had lost with his youth. After Don Quixote appeared, and with that inimitable wit and humour turned all this romantic honour and love into ridicule; the Spaniards, he said, began to grow ashamed of both, and to laugh at fighting and loving, or at least otherwise than to pursue their fortune, or satisfy their lust; and the consequences of this, both upon their bodies and their minds, this Spaniard would needs have pass for a great cause of the ruin of Spain, or of its greatness and power.

Whatever effect the ridicule of knight-errantry might have had upon that monarchy, I believe that

of pedantry has had a very ill one upon the commonwealth of learning; and I wish the vein of ridiculing all that is serious and good, all honour and virtue, as well as learning and piety, may have no worse effects on any other State: it is the itch of our age and climate, and has over-run both the Court and the Stage; enters a house of Lords and Commons as boldly as a coffee-house, debates of Council as well as private conversation; and I have known, in my life, more than one or two Ministers of State, that would rather have said a witty thing than done a wise one; and made the company laugh, rather than the kingdom rejoice. But this is enough to excuse the imperfections of learning in our age, and to censure the sufficiency of some of the learned; and this small piece of justice I have done the ancients, will not, I hope, be taken, any more than it is meant, for any injury to the moderns.

I shall conclude with a saying of Alphonsus (surnamed the Wise) King of Arragon:

"That among so many things as are by men possessed or pursued in the course of their lives, all the rest are baubles, besides old wood to burn, old wine to drink, old friends to converse with, and old books to read."

SOME THOUGHTS

UPON REVIEWING

THE ESSAY

OF

ANCIENT AND MODERN LEARNING.

I HAVE been induced, by several motives, to take a further survey of the controversy arisen of late years concerning the excellence of ancient and modern learning. First, the common interest of learning in general, and particularly in our universities; and to prevent the discouragement of scholars, in all degrees, from reading the ancient authors, who must be acknowledged to have been the foundation of all modern learning, whatever the superstructures may have been. Next, a just indignation at the insolence of the modern advocates, in defaming those heroes among the ancients whose memory has been sacred and admired for so many ages; as Homer, Virgil, Pythagoras, Democritus, &c. This, I confess, gave me the same kind of horror I should have had in seeing some young barbarous Goths or Vandals breaking or defacing the admirable statues of those ancient heroes of Greece or Rome, which had so long preserved their memories honoured, and almost adored for so many generations.

My last motive was, to vindicate the credit of our nation, as others have done that of the French,

from the imputation of this injustice and presumption that the modern advocates have used in this case. For which end it will be necessary to relate the whole state of this controversy.

It is by themselves confessed, that, till the new philosophy had gotten ground in these parts of the world, which is about fifty or sixty years date, there were but few that ever pretended to exceed or equal the ancients; those that did were only some physicians, as Paracelsus and his disciples, who introduced new notions in physic and new methods of practice, in opposition to the Galenical; and this chiefly from chemical medicines or operations. But these were not able to maintain their pretence long; the credit of their cures, as well as their reasons, soon decaying with the novelty of them, which had given them vogue at first.

Des Cartes was the next that would be thought to excel the ancients by a new scheme or body of philosophy, which, I am apt to think, he had a mind to impose upon the world, as Nostradamus did his prophecies, only for their own amusement, and without either of them believing any of it themselves: for Des Cartes, among his friends, always called his philosophy his romance; which makes it as pleasant to hear young scholars possessed with all his notions, as to see boys taking Amadis, and the Mirror of Knighthood, for true stories.

The next that set up for the excellency of the new learning above the old, were some of Gresham college, after the institution of that society by King Charles II. These began early to debate and pursue this pretence, and were followed by the French academy, who took up the controversy more at large, and descended to many particulars: Monsieur Fontenelle gave the academy the preference in poetry and oratory, as well as in philosophy and mathematics; and Monsieur Perrault, in paint-

ing and architecture, as well as oratory and poetry; setting up the Bishop of Meaux against Pericles and Thucydides; the Bishop of Nimes against Isocrates; F. Bourdaloue against Nicias; Balsac against Cicero; Voiture against Pliny; Boileau against Horace; and Corneille against all the ancient and famous dramatic poets.

About five or six years ago, these modern pretences were opposed in an Essay upon Ancient and Modern Learning: and the Miscellanea (whereof that essay was a part) being translated into French, the members of that academy were so concerned and ashamed, that a stranger should lay such an infamy upon some of their society, as want of reverence for the ancients, and the presumption of preferring the moderns before them, that they fell into great indignation against the few criminals among them; they began to pelt them with satires and epigrams in writing, and with bitter railleries in their discourses and conversations; and led them such a life, that they soon grew weary of their new-fangled opinions; which had perhaps been taken up at first only to make their court, and at second hand to flatter those who flattered their King.

Upon the Miscellanea's first printing in Paris, Monsieur Boileau made this short satire:—

Quelqu'un vint l'autre jour se plaindre au Dieu des vers
  Qu'en certain lieu de l'univers
L'on traite d'auteurs froids, de poëtes steriles,
  Les Homères et les Virgiles:
" Cela ne sauroit être, l'on se moque de vous,"
  Reprit Apollon en courroux;
" Où peut-on avancer une telle infamie?
Est-ce chez les Hurons, chez les Topinambous?"
C'est à Paris. C'est donc à l' Hôpital de fous;
Non, c'est au Louvre en pleine Academie.

Upon the same occasion, and about the same time, Monsieur Racine made this other, which

more particularly touched Monsieur Perrault, as the first did Monsieur Fontenelle.

D'où vient, que Ciceron, Platon, Virgile, Homère,
Et tous ces grands auteurs que l'univers revere,
Traduits en vos écrits nous paroissent si sots,
Perrault? C'est qu'en prétant à ces ésprits sublimes,
Vos façons de parler, vos bassesses, vos rymes,
Vous les fais tous paroître des Perraults.

Some of the French academy took the care to send these, and other such pieces, into England and other countries, to clear their reputation from the slander drawn upon them by two or three of their body; and treated the reverence of the ancients as something sacred, and the want of it as barbarous and profane.

Monsieur Perrault, to escape the rest of this storm, soon changed his party, professing it upon all occasions; and to shew the truth of his conversion, published among other small pieces the dialogue in Homer between Hector and Andromache, which he had translated into French, and presented to the academy March the 3d, 1693, after a speech made them upon this subject, wherein are these lines, both the verses and the speech being since printed together.

"Whatever care I have taken to praise Homer upon all occasions, and to acknowledge him for the most excellent, the vastest, and the noblest genius that has ever been in poesy; yet, because I had taken the liberty of remarking some defaults in his works, men have risen up against me, as if I had committed some high treason; and that which ought to have been regarded but as the part of a grammarian, has been taken up as an audacious enterprise, which deserved all the scorn and indignation of Parnassus.

"Now, that I may not be believed to have so ill a taste, as to be insensible of the beauties of this ex-

cellent poet, and to admire what is admirable in him, I have translated one of the finest passages of his Iliads. I thought, if the protestations I have so often made to honour the author of this poem could not persuade the world, yet this translation might do it, since it is certain that one would not take the pains to translate into French a piece of Greek poesy, unless one extremely esteemed it."

By this it appears with what indignation and scorn this new opinion of our modern admirers has been used in France, and how penitent a recantation Monsieur Perrault thought fit to make for his former errors; so as those, who have since followed and defended him or his first opinions, seem to have been decoyed into the net by another duck, that flew away as soon as they were caught. Therefore the late objections against that essay, and in favour of the moderns, seem to have been writ without any intelligence of what passed at Paris before or about that time, having had the ill fortune to be deserted in France, and not countenanced that I know of in England. For the learned author of the Antediluvian World, though most concerned in that essay upon this subject, has been so far from defending this new assertion, that he has since published his Achæologiæ, and therein shewn both his great knowledge and esteem of the ancient learning, and proved thereby, that whoever knows it must esteem it; and left such modern advocates for an evidence of the contrary, that whoever despises it, in comparison of the new, does not know it.

The modern advocates, to destroy the monuments of ancient learning, first think it necessary to shew what mean contemptible men were the founders of it, and fall foul upon Pythagoras, the seven Sages, Empedocles, and Democritus.

For Pythagoras, they are so gracious as to give him some quarter, and allow him to be a wiser man

than the fools among whom he lived, in an ignorant age and country: in short, they are content he should pass for a lawgiver, but by no means for a philosopher. Now the good judgment shewn in this wise censure of so great a man, will easily appear to all that know him. Pythagoras was indeed desired to frame the institutions of a civil state in a small town of Italy where he lived, but that he had the misfortune to perish by a sedition in the government he had formed; so that there remain no records or traces of any of his civil institutions. Whereas, on the other side, he has in all ages, from his own till our time, by all learned nations and persons, even Christians as well as Pagans, been esteemed the Prince of philosophers, and to have excelled in all natural and moral knowledge, as well as civil and mathematical: from him Socrates derived the principles of virtue and morality; as well as Plato both these, and most of his natural speculations. Nor was the memory of any other philosopher so adored by all his followers; nor any of their instructions so successful in forming the lives of the most excellent men, whereof three were bred up together under a Pythagorean philosopher at Thebes, who were not excelled by any others of their own, nor perhaps succeeding ages; which were Epaminondas, Pelopidas, and Philip of Macedon.

To discredit all the fountains from which Pythagoras is said to have drawn his admirable knowledge, they cannot guess to what purpose he should have gone to Delphos, nor that Apollo's Priestesses there should have been famous for discovering secrets in natural or mathematical matters, or moral truths. In this they discover their deep knowledge of antiquity, taking the oracle of Delphos to have been managed by some frantic or fanatic wenches; whereas the Pythia's there were

only engines managed by the Priests of Delphos, who, like those of Egypt, were a college or society of wise and learned men in all sorts of sciences, though the use of them was in a manner wholly applied to the honour and service of their oracle. And we may guess at the rest by the last high-priest we know of at Delphos, I mean Plutarch, the best and most learned man of his age, if we may judge by the writings he has left. Nor could it have been without the sage counsels, the wise answers, or ingenious and ambiguous evasions of these Delphic Priests, that the credit of that oracle should have continued for so long a course of time, as from the age of the Argonauts (and how much before no man knows) to the latter end at least of Trajan's reign, wherein Plutarch writ: and how great the credit was, wherein that oracle was preserved by the wise conduct of their Priests, may be gathered from the vast riches which were there heaped up, from the offerings of all the Grecian, and so many distant nations. For before the seizure made of the temple of Delphos by the Phoceans, they were reported by some ancient authors to have been as great as those which Alexander found in the palaces and treasuries of the Kings of Persia; and it is agreed, that the Phoceans, to pay their armies in the sacred war, made bold at once with such a part of those treasures as amounted to above ten thousand talents.

I have been sometimes apt to think, from the prodigious thunders, and lightnings, and storms, by which this temple is said, in the best ancient authors, to have been defended from the Persians and the Gauls, that the Priests of Delphos had some admirable knowledge of that kind, which was called magical; or that they knew the use and force of gun-powder so many ages since, and reserved it, as they did the effects of all their sciences,

for the service of their god: nor, if it were so, would it be stranger, that such an invention should have been found out then by the Priests of Delphos, than that it was so of late by a poor German Friar.

For the seven Sages, who are treated like the wise men of Gotham, and I doubt by such as are like acquainted with both, I shall say nothing in their defence, but direct the reader to the Essay itself.

For Empedocles and Democritus, I confess, the modern advocates could not have done their cause or themselves more right, than in choosing these two great men of the ancients, after Thales and Pythagoras, for the objects of their scorn; for none among them had ever so great esteem, and almost veneration, as these four. The two last were the heads or founders of the Ionic and Italic sects of philosophers, and brought not only astronomy and mathematics, but natural and moral philosophy first among the Grecians, whom we may observe in Homer's time to have been as barbarous as the Thracians, governed by nothing but will and passion, violence, cruelty, and sottish superstition.

Empedocles was the glory and the boast of Sicily, and of whom his countryman Diodorus, who was most particular in the story of all that was wonderful in that island, says, that the birth of Empedocles had been glory enough to Sicily, though nothing else great or excellent had been produced there. He was an admirable poet, and thought even to have approached Homer, in a poem he writ of natural philosophy, and from which Aristotle is believed to have drawn the body of his, so much followed afterwards in the world. He first invented the art of oratory, and the rules of it. He was an admirable physician, and stopped a plague at Agrigentum by the disposal of fires,

which purged the air. He performed such cures of desperate diseases, that for this, and his foretelling many strange events, his citizens would have given him divine honours. He had so much credit in his State, that he changed the form and number of their great council, and was offered the principality of Agrigentum, but refused it, being as excellent in his morals as in all other sciences.

Democritus was the founder of that sect which made so much noise afterwards in the world under the name of Epicurus, who owed him both his atoms and his vacuum in his natural philosophy, and his tranquillity of mind in his morals. He spent a vast patrimony in pursuit of learning, by his travels, to learn of the Magi in Chaldea, the Priests in Egypt as far as those of Meroë, and the Gymnosophists of India. He was admirable in physic, in the knowledge of natural causes and events. He left many writings in all sorts of sciences, whereof one, Of the World, was sold for an hundred talents: and it is obvious to guess at the value of the rest by that of this one; for it may be presumed with appearance enough, that what person soever has written one excellent book, will never write an ill one: as on the other side, whoever has writ and published one foolish book, will never write a good one. If we knew nothing of Democritus, but from that excellent epistle of Hippocrates to Demagetus, with an account of the wisdom of Democritus, and the folly of the Abderites; the testimony of one so great man might have left some little respect for the other. But this is a just return upon him, after two thousand years; Democritus laughed at the world, and our modern learned laugh at Democritus.

I think the excellency of the ancient or modern sciences may be further concluded from the greatness and excellency of those effects that have been

produced by those causes; and to this end I might be allowed to describe, or rather transcribe out of the best ancient authors, the accounts that are left us of the walls of Babylon, with the palace and temple of Belus, built by the Assyrians; the town and fortress of Ecbatan, by the Medes; the city and palace of Persepolis, by the Persians; the pyramids and obelisks of Egypt, the temple of Vulcan there, with the lake and labyrinth of Mœris; the colossus of Rhodes; the station for two hundred gallies at Carthage, built upon two hundred arches in the sea, with galleries over them to hold their stores; the amphitheatres and aqueducts at Rome; the bridge of Trajan over the Danube; the seven towers at Byzantium, when it was taken and ruined by Severus; built with such admirable art, that any words, spoken at the first, were conveyed from one to the other till the very last, though all at distances between them.

These and many other productions of the ancients, though perhaps as little valued by the moderns as their worthies; yet, I confess, are beyond my comprehension how they could be effected without some other mathematical skill and engines than have been since known in the world.

I might add upon the subject of naval fabric, wherein we seem most justly to have advantage, the two prodigious ships or gallies built, the one by Hiero at Syracuse, and sent from thence into Egypt, wherein were not only contained all apartments for a Prince's palace and attendants, but a garden with natural flowers, and fruits, and fish-ponds, and other usual ornaments of great palaces. The other was built by Ptolemy Philopater at Alexandria; and besides room for the King's Court, attendants, and guards, contained four thousand men at the oar.

I might further relate, from the most credited

authors, those long and stupendous defences that were made at Tyre against all the forces of Alexander; at Rhodes against Demetrius; and at Syracuse against the Roman powers; by the sole force of mathematical skill and engines, which raised such vast weights into the air with such ease, and directed their fall with such certainty, as might have almost given credit to that bold word of Archimedes: "Give me but where to stand firm, and I will remove the earth."

But it is enough to give these instances of the wonderful effects and operations of the ancient sciences, and thereby occasion of enquiry, and I am sure entertainment, to such as are not acquainted with them.

In the mean time, since the modern advocates yield, though very unwillingly, the pre-eminence of the ancients in poetry, oratory, painting, statuary, and architecture; I shall proceed to examine the account they give of those sciences, wherein they affirm the moderns to excel the ancients; whereof they make the chief to be, the invention of instruments; chemistry, anatomy, natural history of minerals, plants, and animals; astronomy, and optics; music; physic; natural philosophy; philology; and theology; of all which I shall take a short survey.

[Here it is supposed, the knowledge of the ancients and moderns in the sciences last mentioned was to have been compared; but whether the author designed to have gone through such a work himself, or intended these papers only for hints to somebody else that desired them, is not known.

After which the rest was to follow, written in his own hand, as before.]

Though it may be easily conjectured, from the

wonderful productions of the ancients, how great their sciences were, especially in the mathematics, which is of all other the most valuable to the use and benefit of mankind; yet we have all the testimonies besides, that can be given, of the height they were at among the Egyptians, from the ingenious confessions of the Greek authors, as well as from the voyages that were made into Egypt, Phœnicia, Babylon, and even the Indies, by those who are allowed for the greatest among the Greek lawgivers and philosophers; whereof so distinct an account has been given in that essay of the Miscellanea (already mentioned) upon ancient and modern learning. But the modern advocates can believe nothing of it, because we know none of the records or histories of those nations remaining, but what was left us by the Greeks; and conclude the infancy of the Egyptians in other sciences, because they left no account of their own history or the reigns of their Kings.

I might content myself with what has been already made so plain in this matter, by shewing how those ancient eastern nations were generally without learning, except what was possessed by the Priests, and preserved as sacred in their colleges and temples; so that, when those came to be ruined, their learning was so too. It has been also demonstrated in the same essay, how all the traces and memorials of learning and story may be lost in a nation by the conquest of barbarous people, great plagues, and great inundations; and for instance, how little is known in Ireland of what is so generally believed, of learning having flourished there. And how little we should know, even of ancient Greece or Italy, or other parts of Europe and Asia, if the two learned languages of Greek and Latin had not been preserved, and continued in credit and in use, among the few pretenders to any sort

of learning in those parts of the world, upon the ravages and destructions in them by the barbarous Northern nations.

But, to put this matter past dispute, I shall shew more particularly when and how the ancient learning decayed in those nations where it so much flourished in the height of their empires, and fell or declined with the loss of their liberties, or subjection to new conquerors.

I will not determine from what antiquity of time learning flourished among the Egyptians or Assyrians; because these moderns will not allow the plainest accounts given us by the best Greek and Latin authors, of the duration of those empires; though not contrary to the periods allowed us by the Scriptures: but the reasons they give for not believing them seem too weak and frivolous to be taken notice of: as first, that we have no account of the Assyrian Kings in Scripture, till Tiglath Pileser, and others; whereas the Scripture takes no notice of the story of either Egyptians, Assyrians, Tyrians, or Sidonian governments, but as they had, at some certain times, a relation to the affairs of the Jews or their commonwealth. And as it has never succeeded with so many learned men, that have spent their whole time and pains to agree the sacred with the profane chronology, (not to except Sir John Marsham's great industry) so I never expect to see it done to any purpose. Their next reason is, because we have no account of the actions of so many Assyrian Kings as are reckoned from Semiramis to Sardanapalus, they cannot conceive that their lives were past in their palaces, and the entertainments of leisure and pleasure, during the uninterrupted felicity, as well as the vast extent of their empire, beyond the desires of increasing, or the fears of losing any part of it, while the excellent orders at first established were

observed; and thereby, as well as by their Princes seldom appearing out of their vast palaces and paradises (or gardens and parks about them), the adoration of those Kings was preserved among their subjects.

Now I confess, a man of an easy and quiet temper might be allowed hardly to imagine what Kings in such a posture of fortune and power should do, more than to preserve the order and quiet of their kingdoms; or how they should furnish their ages with more story, than of their magnificence in their buildings and treasures: nor do we find much more recorded of Solomon's long and happy reign among the Jews: nor are they, in the Miscellanea, employed in gardening all that time, though the first accounts of gardening are there deduced from Assyria. But suppose those idle Kings, besides the entertainments of luxury and pleasure, should have spent their time (or what lay upon their hands) in chemistry, in anatomy, in the stories of plants and animals; in optics and philology; in such speculations as the Royal Society entertain themselves and the world with; or in conversing with their Magi, or other learned men: I hope it cannot be denied, but Princes might pass their lives in such entertainments, without bloody and violent actions, that make the subject of common history.

And yet who knows but many such there were too, in the course of those empires, during those ages; but the records of them lost, with their other sciences, further than some memory and short accounts given us by the few Greek authors that we have now remaining. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.*

The ancient Assyrian learning, which had run so long a course of time, and grown to so great a height in the colleges or societies of their Magi, or Chaldeans, began to decay upon the conquest

of that empire, first by the Medes, and afterwards by Cyrus and his Persians, who were then a sort of barbarous nation, that knew nothing beyond what they had learned and practised from the civil or military institutions of Cyrus, a wise lawgiver, as well as great Captain, and thereby the founder of that mighty kingdom. But the last and fatal blow given to that ancient learning, was in the time of Darius, father of Xerxes, who, with the rest of the Persians, spited at the Magi, upon the usurpation of the Crown by one of their number (that counterfeited a younger son of Cyrus after the death of Cambyses), when he came to be settled in that throne, endeavoured to abolish, not only their learning and credit, but their language too, by changing the old Assyrian characters, and introducing those of Persia, which grew to be the common use of that whole empire.

Under the first and second race of these Persian Kings, the genius of that nation being wholly military, their conquests were indeed vastly extended beyond the bounds of the Assyrian empire, by subduing Lydia, the Lesser Asia, and the whole kingdom of Egypt, which had ever been a rival of the Assyrian greatness: but during the successions of this monarchy, all learning was so lost among them, that no certain records were preserved, either of actions or of times, under the races of the Assyrian Kings: so as the first period of story, which remains in any profane authors, seems to begin with Cyrus; and all before his birth is so obscure, so variously reported, or so mingled with fable and truth, that no sound or certain judgment can be fixed upon them, whatever pains have been employed to reconcile them. For all other sciences, they were in a manner extinguished during the course of this empire, excepting only a smatter of judicial astrology, by which, under the name

of Chaldeans, some of that race long amused ignorant and credulous people.

But upon the sun-set of this ancient Assyrian learning, it began to dawn in Greece, with the growth and flourishing of the Athenian State, by whose navigations and traffic several noble wits among them and the rest of the Grecians entered into commerce with the Egyptians and Phœnicians; and from them, or their priests, drew the first rudiments of those sciences which they brought into Greece, and by which they grew so renowned in their own and after-ages. Such were Solon, Pythagoras, Democritus, Plato, and many others; whose lives and voyages into those eastern regions we are less acquainted with, by the loss of so many books, and the injuries of devouring time.

The learning of the Egyptians, whenever it began, continued in great height and admiration of their neighbours, till the reign of Nectanebus; when, after a revolt of the Egyptians from the Persian empire, which lasted and prospered in two or three Kings reigns, one of the Artaxerxes's subdued Egypt; and this last of the Egyptian Kings reduced the whole kingdom to the Persian obedience; but, enraged at their rebellion and obstinate resistance, executed his conquest with such rage, that, besides infinite slaughters, he razed many of their cities, and the walls of them all; ruined their temples, destroyed or dispersed their priests, and the archives or records of those famous colleges, and whatever of them he thought fit to preserve, he carried away with him into Persia.

This happened during the reign of Philip of Macedon, and gave a fatal period to the ancient Egyptian learning and sciences. After which time, we know of no voyages made by the Greek philosophers into Egypt upon that search; but Plato was the last of renown that undertook that voyage,

who lived, and was in Egypt, not long before this cruel revolution.

It is true, the Grecian races of Kings, afterwards in Egypt, called Ptolemies, during the quiet and felicity of many reigns, endeavoured all they could the restoration of learning among them, by countenance and all sorts of encouragement to their priests that remained, and by the collection of that vast library at Alexandria: but the learning and science of the old Egyptian priests was never recovered; and that professed by the new was turned to superstition and mystery; initiations and expiations, the procuring or foretelling events by mystical sacrifices or magical operations, which lasted indeed to Adrian's time, but without credit or esteem among the wiser part of the world.

The same, or rather a greater desolation than that of Egypt in the time of Nectanebus, was made of the Sidonians, and their whole city and territory, by the same Artaxerxes, in his passage from Persia to Egypt, upon the rebellion of that city. The like happened to Tyre, upon the cruel conquest by Alexander the Great of that famous city (though the ancient Tyre that stood upon the continent had been ruined long before). And with the ruin of those two, perished the Phœnician learning, which had flourished there for so many ages, and no account left us of them, besides what remains in the very few ancient Greek or Latin books that are preserved among us. How few they are indeed may be very justly bewailed, the compass of them extending but from the time of Hippocrates to that of Marcus Antoninus, which was about four hundred years; and yet the number of those written in that period, and preserved to our age, is more to be deplored. But I shall not enter into search of the causes or times of the loss of so many of the rest, as we find mentioned

by Diodorus, Origen, Athenæus, or others, whereof some were not long before Constantine. And it is recorded, that the young Emperor Gordian was so great a lover of learning, that, in his short reign, he collected a library of sixty-two thousand volumes; but what became of them, or when so many monuments of the ancient learning were lost, I cannot undertake to find out: only it is certain, that, besides infinite numbers of Greek histories and poets, those of all the several sects of philosophers are lost, besides what has been preserved of Plato and Aristotle.

I cannot but take notice how hardly the modern advocates part with their own concessions to the ancients, in poetry and eloquence; and upon what judicious grounds they detract from them in the first, and contest with them in the other.

They allow indeed the sweetness of the Greek poetry to be inimitable, but attribute it wholly to the language, and the sounds and syllables that compose it. They might as well say, the excellence of picture comes from the beauty of the colours; and of statuary, from the fineness of the marble; whereas a common hand, with the finest colours in the world, can paint nothing better than a sign-post; and the drawing of a hand, in black and white, may be of ten times more art and value, as well as beauty, than a common picture, though never so finely coloured. It is the same thing in poetry; the language is but the colouring; it is the conception, the invention, the judgment, that give the life and spirit, as well as beauty and force, to a poem. And I desire to know whether any of the Greek poets, that writ after the end of Ptolemy's race in Egypt, are at all comparable to those that writ before; yet we have but too many of them left us to make the comparison.

Upon the subject of eloquence, they will have

it, that Padre Paolo's Council of Trent, and Comines' Memoirs, are equal to Herodotus and Livy, and so would Strada be too, if he were but impartial. This is very wonderful, if it be not a jest. For Padre Paolo, he must be allowed for the greatest genius of his age, and perhaps of all the moderns, as appears in his other writings, as well as the Council of Trent; which is, indeed, no history of any great actions, but only an account of a long and artificial negotiation, between the Court and Prelates of Rome and those of other Christian Princes: so that I do not see how it can properly be styled a history, the subject whereof are great actions and revolutions: and, by all the ancient critics upon history, the first part of the excellence of an historian is the choice of a noble and great subject, that may be worth his pains.

For Philip de Comines, none ever called it a history, nor he himself other than memoirs: nor does either the subject deserve it, or the author; who is valued only for his great truth of relation, and simplicity of style.

There are three, which I do not conceive well, how they can be brought into the number of sciences; which are, chemistry, philology, and divinity.

For that part of chemistry which is conversant in discovering and extracting the virtue of metals or other minerals, or of any simples that are employed with success for health or medicine, it is a study that may be of much use and benefit to mankind, and is certainly the most diverting amusement to those that pursue it. But for the other part, which is applied to the transmutation of metals, and the search of the philosopher's stone, which has enchanted, not to say turned, so many brains in the latter ages; "though some men cannot comprehend, how there should have been

so much smoke, for so many ages in the world about it, without some fire;" it is easy, I think, to conceive, that there has been a great deal of fire, without producing any thing but smoke. If it be a science, it is certainly one of the liberal ones; for the professors or followers of it have spent more money upon it, than those of all other sciences together; and more than they will ever recover, without the philosopher's stone. Whether they are now any nearer than they were when they began, I do not know; nor could ever find it determined among wise and learned men, whether alchemy were any thing more than a wild vision or imagination of some shattered heads, or else a practice of knaves upon fools, as well as sometimes of fools upon themselves. For, however Borrichius, or any others, may attribute the vast expences of the Pyramids, and treasures of Solomon, to the philosopher's stone, I am apt to believe, none ever yet had it, except it were Midas, and his possession seems a little discredited by his ass's ears: and I wish the pursuit of many others may not fall under the same prejudice. For my own part, I confess I have always looked upon alchemy in natural philosophy, to be like enthusiasm in divinity, and to have troubled the world much to the same purpose. And I should as soon fall into the study of Rosycrucian philosophy, and expect to meet a Nymph or a Sylph, for a wife or a mistress, as with the elixir for my health, or philosopher's stone for my fortune.

It is not so difficult to comprehend how such a folly should last so long in the world, and yet without any ground in nature or in reason; if a man considers how the pagan religion lasted for so many ages, with such general opinion and devotion; which yet all now confess to have been nothing but an illusion or a dream, with some

practice of cunning Priests upon the credulous and ignorant people: which seems to have been the case of this modern science; for ancient it is none, nor any at all that I know of.

For philology, I know not well what to make of it; and less, how it came into the number of sciences: if it be only criticism upon ancient authors and languages, he must be a conjurer that can make those moderns, with their comments, and glossaries, and annotations, more learned than the authors themselves in their own languages, as well as the subjects they treat.

I must confess, that the critics are a race of scholars I am very little acquainted with; having always esteemed them but like brokers, who, having no stock of their own, set up a trade with that of other men; buying here and selling there, and commonly abusing both sides, to make out a little paltry gain, either of money or of credit, for themselves, and care not at whose cost. Yet the first design of these kind of writers, after the restoration of learning in these Western parts, was to be commended, and of much use and entertainment to the age. It is to them we owe the editions of all the ancient authors, the best translations of many out of Greek, the restoring of the old copies, maimed with time or negligence, the correcting of others mistaken in the transcribing, the explaining places obscure, in an age so ignorant of the style and customs of the ancients; and in short, endeavouring to recover those old jewels out of the dust and rubbish wherein they had been so long lost or soiled, to restore them to their native lustre, and make them appear in their true light.

This made up the merit and value of the critics for the first hundred years, and deserved both praise and thanks of the age, and the rewards of

Princes, as well as the applause of common scholars, which they generally received. But since they have turned their vein to debase the credit and value of the ancients, and raise their own above those to whom they owe all the little they know; and instead of true wit, sense, or genius, to display their own proper colours of pride, envy, or detraction, in what they write: to trouble themselves and the world with vain niceties and captious cavils about words and syllables, in the judgment of style; about hours and days, in the account of ancient actions or times; about antiquated names of persons or places, with many such worthy trifles; and all this, to find some occasion of censuring and defaming such writers as are, or have been, most esteemed in the world, raking into slight wounds where they find any, or scratching till they make some where there were none before: there is, I think, no sort of talent so despisable, as that of such common critics, who can at best pretend but to value themselves by discovering the defaults of other men, rather than any worth or merit of their own: a sort of levellers, that will needs equal the best or richest of the country, not by improving their own estates, but reducing those of their neighbours, and making them appear as mean and wretched as themselves. The truth is, there has been so much written of this kind of stuff, that the world is surfeited with the same things over and over, or old common notions new dressed, and perhaps embroidered.

For divinity, wherein they give the moderns such a preference above the ancients, they might as well have made them excel in the knowledge of our common law, or of the English tongue; since our religion was as little known to the ancient sages and philosophers, as our language or our laws: and I cannot but wonder, that any divine should

so much debase religion or true divinity, as to introduce them thus preposterously into the number of human sciences: whereas they came first to the Jews, and afterwards to the first Christians, by immediate revelation or instruction from God himself: thus Abraham learned, that there was but one true God, and in pursuit of that belief, contrary to the opinion of the learned Chaldeans, among whom he lived, was content to forsake his own country, and come into Palestine: so Moses was instructed to know God more particularly, and admitted both to see his glory and to learn his name, Jehovah, and to institute from heaven the whole religion of the Jews: so the prophets, under the Old Testament, were taught to know the will of God, and thereby to instruct the people in it, and enabled to prophesy, and do miracles, for a testimony of their being truly sent from heaven. So our blessed Saviour came into the world to shew the will of his Father, to teach his precepts and commands; and so his Apostles and their disciples were inspired by the Holy Ghost for the same ends. And all other theology in the world, in how learned nations and ages soever it flourished, yet ended in gross superstition and idolatry; so that human learning seems to have very little to do with true divinity, but, on the contrary, to have turned the Gentiles into false notions of the deity, and even to have misguided the Jews and the Christians into the first sects and heresies that we find among them.

We know of little learning among the Jews, besides that of Moses and of Solomon, till after the captivity, in which their Priests grew acquainted with the language and learning of the Chaldeans; but this was soon lost, in such a broken state as theirs was, after their return to such a ruined city and desolate country, and so often persecuted by

the credit of their enemies at the Persian Court: the learning, which afterwards we find among the Jews, came in with the Grecian empire, that introduced their learning and language, with their conquest, into Judea. Before this, there were no divisions or sects among the Jews, but of such as followed the true prophets or the false, and worshipped God or Baal. With the Grecian language and learning entered their philosophy, and out of this arose the two great sects of Pharisees and Sadducees: the Pharisees, in all opinions which they could any way conform to their own worship or institutions, followed the philosophy of Plato; the Sadducees, of Epicurus. The first professed the strictest rules of virtue and vice, the hopes and fears of rewards and punishments in another world; the existence of angels, and spirits separate from bodies: but the Sadducees believed little or nothing of any of these, further than to cover themselves from the hatred and persecution of the other sect, which was the most popular.

For that rabbinical learning that is pretended by the Jews to have begun so long before the captivity, and to have continued by tradition down to the time of the Talmud, I must confess that, notwithstanding the credit has been given to it, and all the legends introduced by it in the last age, I cannot find any traces of it which seem at all clear beyond the time of the last dispersion of the Jews, in the reign of Adrian, or the first, in that of Vespasian; and how little the Jews have gained by all this learning of their Rabbins, how ancient or modern soever, I leave to others to consider and determine, who have more esteem for it than I.

For Christianity, it came into the world, and so continued in the first age, without the least pretence of learning and knowledge, with the greatest simplicity of thought and language, as well as life

and manners, holding forth nothing but piety, charity, and humility, with the belief of the Messias and of his kingdom; which appears to be the main scope of the Gospel, and of the preaching of the Apostles; and to have been almost concealed from the wise and the learned, as well as the mighty and the noble, by both which sorts it was either derided or persecuted.

The first that made any use of learning were the primitive Fathers of the second age, only to confute the idolatrous worship of the heathens, and their plurality of gods; endeavouring to evince the being of one God, and immortality of the soul, out of some of their own ancient authors, both poets and philosophers, especially out of the writers of the Platonic sect, and the verses of Orpheus and the Sibyls, which then passed for genuine, though they have since by the moderns been questioned, if not exploded: thus Minutius Felix, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, made use of the learning of such as were then ancient to them, and thereby became champions of the Christian faith against the Gentiles by force of their own weapons.

After the third century, and upon the rise of the Arian and other heresies in the Christian Church, their learning seems chiefly to have been employed in the defence of the several opinions professed by the Orthodox or the Arians, the Western or the Eastern Churches, and so to have long continued, by the frequent rise of so many heresies in the church.

And I doubt this kind of learning has been but too great, and made too much use of, upon all the divisions of Christendom, since the restoration of learning in these western parts of the world; yet this very polemical learning has been chiefly employed to prove their several opinions to be most

agreeable to those of the ancient Fathers, and the institutions of the primitive times, which must needs give the preference to the ancients above the moderns in divinity, since we cannot pretend to know more of what they knew and practised than themselves: and I did as little believe that any divine in England would compare himself or his learning with those Fathers, as that any of our physicians would theirs with Hippocrates, or our mathematicians with Archimedes.

One would think that the modern advocates, after having confounded all the ancients, and all that esteem them, might have been contented; but one of them, I find, will not be satisfied to condemn the rest of the world without applauding himself; and therefore, falling into a rapture upon the contemplation of his own wonderful performance, he tells us, "Hitherto in the main I please myself, that there cannot be much said against what I have asserted," &c.

I wonder a divine, upon such an occasion, should not at least have had as much grace as a French lawyer in Montaigne, who, after a dull tedious argument, that had wearied the court and the company, when he went from the bar, was heard muttering to himself, *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis:* but this writer, rather like the proud Spaniard, that would not have St. Lawrence's patience upon the gridiron ascribed to the grace of God, but only to the true Spanish valour, will not have his own perfections and excellencies owing to any thing else but the true force of his own modern learning; and thereupon he falls into this sweet ecstasy of joy, wherein I shall leave him till he come to himself.

The whole cause, between the pretensions of ancient and modern learning, will be the best decided by the comparison of the persons and the

things that have been produced under the institutions and discipline of the one, or the other.

I leave that of persons to the observation of the present or last age, to which, it seems, the modern pretences are confined; and to the accounts given us by the best Roman and Greek historians, of what great spirits, both Princes and Generals, as well as Lawgivers and Philosophers, have been formed under the doctrine and discipline of the ancient sciences; and to the characters of Epaminondas, Agesilaus, Alcibiades, Philip of Macedon, the two Scipios, Julius Cæsar, Trajan, Marcus Antoninus, and several others; and of the noble and transcendent virtues and heroic qualities of these and such other ancients most renowned in story; their fortitude, their justice, their prudence, their temperance, their magnanimity, their clemency, their love to their country, and the sacrifice they made of their lives, or, at least, of their ease and quiet, to the service thereof: their eminent virtues, both civil and military, by which they gained such famous victories over their enemies, such passionate love from their own countries, and such admiration of all men, both in their own and succeeding ages.

For things to be considered, they must be such as have been either of general use or pleasure to mankind. In those of pleasure, as poetry, picture, statuary, eloquence, architecture, the point is yielded by the moderns; and must of necessity be so by any man that reads the descriptions of those ancient fabrics mentioned before, all in a breath, which were and will be the wonders of the world. Among other testimonies of their wit and science, in their inventions of pleasure, one might observe, that their very luxury was learned, in the disposition, order, and variety of their feasts; so contrived, as to entertain not only all the senses,

but the imagination and intellectuals too; by perfumes, music, mimic, both dumb and vocal; short scenes and representations; buffoonries, or comical disputes to divert the company, and deceive as well as divide the time; besides more serious and philosophical discourses, arguments, and recitations.

But, above all others, they were most wonderful in their shows or *spectacula*, exhibited so often at Rome, to entertain the people in general, first by their Ædiles and Consuls, and afterwards by their Emperors; not to speak of the magnificence and order of their theatres and triumphs: it is strange how such thoughts could so much as enter into any man's head, to derive, of a sudden, so much water into the midst of a town or field, as might represent a sea upon dry ground, bring ships or gallies rowing into it, and order an absolute sea battle to be fought upon the land. At another time, to plant a vast wood of great and green trees in a plain field, all inclosed and replenished with all sorts of wild beasts, for the people to hunt, to kill, and to eat, next day at their feasts; and the day after, all this to disappear, as if it had only been an apparition, or raised by enchantment. Such sort of atchievements among the ancients, and such effects of their admirable science and genius in the invention and disposition of them, seem as difficult for us in these ages to comprehend, as for them to execute.

Now for things of general use to mankind; they are the productions of agriculture, physic, and legislature, or political orders and institutions.

For the first; we owe them all to the ancients, who were the inventors of all arts necessary to life and sustenance, as ploughing, sowing, planting, and conserving the fruits of the earth to a longer season. All sorts of grain, wine, oil, honey, cheese,

are the most ancient inventions, and not at all improved by the moderns.

For physic, I leave it to be compared in the books and practice of Hippocrates, Galen, and the ancient Arabians, who followed their rules and methods, with those of Paracelsus, and his chemical followers.

For political institutions, that tend to the preservation of mankind by civil governments, it is enough to mention those of Cyrus, Theseus, Lycurgus, Solon, Zaleucus, Charondas, Romulus, Numa Pompilius, besides the more ancient institutions of the Assyrian and Egyptian governments and laws, wherein may be observed such a reach of thought, such depth of wisdom, and such force of genius, as the presumption and flattery itself of our age will hardly pretend to parallel, by any of our modern civil institutions.

I know not why a very good reason, for the great advantage of ancient above modern learning, may not be justly drawn from the force and influence of climates where they have grown; and why the regions of Assyria, Phœnicia, Egypt, the Lesser Asia, Greece, Rome, and especially China, may not be allowed to produce naturally greater force of wit and genius, of invention and penetration, than England, Holland, or the northern parts of France and Germany, to which all our modern learning seems to have been confined: nor do I see, why the mighty progress of sciences in those countries may not, in a great measure, be ascribed unto the long peace and flourishing condition of those ancient empires, wherein the Magi and Priests were so much honoured of old; and also to the freedom of thought and enquiry in the Grecian and Italian republics, wherein the ancient philosophers were so much esteemed: nor is it strange, that all learning should have been extinguished in those noble

regions, by the conquest of barbarous nations, and those violent governments which have succeeded them, nor that the progress of it should be maimed by the perpetual wars and distractions that have infested Europe ever since the fall of the Roman empire made way for so many several Gothic kingdoms or governments in this part of the world, where learning pretends to be so much advanced.

The greatest modern inventions seem to be those of the load-stone and gun-powder: by the first whereof navigation must be allowed to have been much improved and extended; and by the last, the art military, both at sea and land, to have been wholly changed; yet it is agreed, I think, that the Chineses have had the knowledge and use of gun-powder many ages before it came into Europe: and besides, both these have not served for any common or necessary use to mankind; one having been employed for their destruction, not their preservation; and the other, only to feed their avarice, or increase their luxury: nor can we say, that they are the inventions of this age, wherein learning and knowledge are pretended to be so wonderfully increased and advanced.

What has been produced for the use, benefit, or pleasure of mankind, by all the airy speculations of those who have passed for the great advancers of knowledge and learning these last fifty years (which is the date of our modern pretenders), I confess I am yet to seek, and should be very glad to find. I have indeed heard of wondrous pretensions and visions of men, possessed with notions of the strange advancement of learning and sciences on foot in this age, and the progress they are like to make in the next: as, the universal medicine, which will certainly cure all that have it; the philosopher's stone, which will be found out by men that care not for riches; the transfusion of young

blood into old men's veins, which will make them as gamesome as the lambs from which it is to be derived; an universal language, which may serve all men's turn, when they have forgot their own; the knowledge of one another's thoughts, without the grievous trouble of speaking; the art of flying till a man happens to fall down and break his neck; double-bottomed ships, whereof none can be ever cast away, besides the first that was made; the admirable virtues of that noble and necessary juice called spittle, which will come to be sold, and very cheap, in the apothecaries shops; discoveries of new worlds in the planets, and voyages between this and that in the moon, to be made as frequently as between York and London; which such poor mortals as I am, think as wild as those of Ariosto, but without half so much wit, or so much instruction; for there these modern sages may know where they may hope in time to find their lost senses, preserved in phials, with those of Orlando.

One great difference must be confessed between the ancient and modern learning: theirs led them to a sense and acknowledgment of their own ignorance, the imbecility of human understanding, the incomprehension even of things about us, as well as those above us; so as the most sublime wits among the ancients ended in their Ἀκαταληψία: ours leads us to presumption, and vain ostentation of the little we have learned, and makes us think we do, or shall know, not only all natural, but even what we call supernatural things; all in the heavens, as well as upon earth; more than all mortal men have known before our age; and shall know in time as much as angels.

Socrates was by the Delphic oracle pronounced the wisest of all men, because he professed that he knew nothing: What would the oracle have said of a man that pretends to know every thing? Pliny

the elder, and most learned of all the Romans whose writings are left, concludes the uncertainty and weakness of human knowledge, with *Constat igitur inter tanta incerta, nihil esse certi; præterquam hominem, nec miserius quicquam nec superbius.* But, sure our modern learned, and especially the divines of that sect among whom it seems this disease is spread, and who will have the world, "to be ever improving, and that nothing is forgotten that ever was known among mankind," must themselves have forgotten that humility and charity are the virtues which run through the scope of the Gospel; and one would think they never had read, or at least never minded, the first chapter of Ecclesiastes, which is allowed to have been written, not only by the wisest of men, but even by divine inspiration, where Solomon tells us,

"The thing that has been, is that which shall be, and there is no new thing under the sun. Is there any thing whereof it may be said, See, this is new? It has been already of old time which was before us: there is no remembrance of former things, neither shall there be any remembrance of things that are to come, with those that shall come after."

These, with many other passages in that admirable book, were enough, one would think, to humble and mortify the presumption of our modern Sciolists, if their pride were not as great as their ignorance; or if they knew the rest of the world any better than they know themselves.

TO

THE COUNTESS OF ESSEX;

UPON

HER GRIEF

OCCASIONED BY THE LOSS OF HER ONLY DAUGHTER.

Sheen, Jan. 29, 1674.

THE honour I received by a letter from your Ladyship, was too great and too sensible not to be acknowledged; but yet I doubted whether that occasion could bear me out in the confidence of giving your Ladyship any further troubles of this kind, without as good an errand as my last. This I have reckoned upon a good while, by another visit my sister and I had designed to my Lord Capel. How we came to have deferred it so long, I think we are neither of us like to tell you at this distance, though we make ourselves believe it could not be helped. Your Ladyship at least has had the advantage of being thereby excused some time from this trouble, which I could no longer forbear, upon the sensible wounds that have so often of late been given your friends here by such desperate expressions in several of your letters concerning your humour, your health, and your life; in all which, if they are your friends, you must allow them to be extremely concerned. Perhaps none can be at heart more partial than I am to whatever touches your Ladyship, nor more inclined to defend you upon this very occasion, how unjust and unkind soever you are to yourself. But when you go about to throw away your health, or your life, so great

a remainder of your own family, and so great hopes of that into which you are entered, and all by a desperate melancholy, upon an accident past remedy, and to which all mortal race is perpetually subject; for God's sake, Madam, give me leave to tell you, that what you do is not at all agreeable either with so good a Christian, or so reasonable and so great a person, as your Ladyship appears to the world in all other lights.

I know no duty in religion more generally agreed on, nor more justly required by God Almighty, than a perfect submission to his will in all things; nor do I think any disposition of mind can either please him more, or become us better, than that of being satisfied with all he gives, and contented with all he takes away. None, I am sure, can be of more honour to God, nor of more ease to ourselves; for if we consider him as our maker, we cannot contend with him; if as our father, we ought not to distrust him; so that we may be confident, whatever he does is intended for good, and whatever happens that we interpret otherwise, yet we can get nothing by repining, nor save any thing by resisting.

But if it were fit for us to reason with God Almighty, and your Ladyship's loss be acknowledged as great as it could have been to any one alive, yet, I doubt, you would have but ill grace to complain at the rate you have done, or rather as you do; for the first motions or passions, how violent soever, may be pardoned; and it is only the course of them which makes them inexcusable. In this world, Madam, there is nothing perfectly good; and whatever is called so, is but either comparatively with other things of its kind, or else with the evil that is mingled in its composition; so he is a good man that is better than men commonly are, or in whom the good qualities are more than the bad; so in the

course of life, his condition is esteemed good, which is better than that of most other men, or wherein the good circumstances are more than the ill. By this measure, I doubt, Madam, your complaints ought to be turned into acknowledgments, and your friends would have cause to rejoice rather than condole with you: for the goods or blessings of life are usually esteemed to be birth, health, beauty, friends, children, honour, riches. Now, when your Ladyship has fairly considered how God Almighty has dealt with you in what he has given you of all these, you may be left to judge yourself how you have dealt with him in your complaints for what he has taken away. But if you look about you, and consider other lives as well as your own, and what your lot is in comparison with those that have been drawn in the circle of your knowledge; if you think how few are born with honour, how many die without name or children, how little beauty we see, how few friends we hear of, how many diseases, and how much poverty there is in the world, you will fall down upon your knees, and, instead of repining at one affliction, will admire so many blessings as you have received at the hand of God.

To put your Ladyship in mind of what you are, and the advantages you have in all these points, would look like a design to flatter you. But this I may say, that we will pity you as much as you please, if you will tell us who they are that you think upon all circumstances you have reason to envy. Now if I had a master that gave me all I could ask, but thought fit to take one thing from me again, either because I used it ill, or gave myself so much over to it, as to neglect what I owed either to him or the rest of the world; or perhaps because he would shew his power, and put me in mind from whom I held all the rest; would you think I had much reason to complain of hard usage,

and never to remember any more what was left me, never to forget what was taken away?

It is true you have lost a child, and therein all that could be lost in a child of that age; but you have kept one child, and are likely to do so long; you have the assurance of another, and the hopes of many more. You have kept a husband, great in employment, and in fortune, and (which is more) in the esteem of good men. You have kept your beauty and your health, unless you have destroyed them yourself, or discouraged them to stay with you by using them ill. You have friends that are as kind to you as you can wish, or as you can give them leave to be by their fears of losing you, and being thereby so much the unhappier, the kinder they are to you. But you have honour and esteem from all that know you; or if ever it fails in any degree, it is only upon that point of your seeming to be fallen out with God and the whole world, and neither to care for yourself, or any thing else, after what you have lost.

You will say perhaps that one thing was all to you, and your fondness of it made you indifferent to every thing else. But this, I doubt, will be so far from justifying you, that it will prove to be your fault as well as your misfortune. God Almighty gave you all the blessings of life, and you set your heart wholly upon one, and despise or undervalue all the rest: is this his fault or yours? nay, is it not to be very unthankful to Heaven, as well as very scornful to the rest of the world? Is it not to say, because you have lost one thing God hath given, you thank him for nothing he has left, and care not what he takes away? Is it not to say, since that one thing is gone out of the world, there is nothing left in it which you think can deserve your kindness or esteem? A friend makes me a feast, and sets all before me that his care or kindness could provide; but I set my heart upon one dish

alone, and if that happen to be thrown down, I scorn all the rest; and though he sends for another of the same, yet I rise from the table in a rage, and say my friend is my enemy, and has done me the greatest wrong in the world: have I reason, Madam, or good grace in what I do? or would it become me better to eat of the rest that is before me, and think no more of what had happened, and could not be remedied?

All the precepts of Christianity agree to teach and command us to moderate our passions, to temper our affections towards all things below; to be thankful for the possession, and patient under the loss whenever he that gave shall see fit to take away. Your extreme fondness was perhaps as displeasing to God before, as now your extreme affliction; and your loss may have been a punishment for your faults in the manner of enjoying what you had. It is at least pious to ascribe all the ill that befalls us to our own demerits, rather than to injustice in God; and it becomes us better to adore all the issues of his providence in the effects, than enquire into the causes: for submission is the only way of reasoning between a creature and its Maker; and contentment in his will is the greatest duty we can pretend to, and the best remedy we can apply to all our misfortunes.

But, Madam, though religion were no party in your case, and that, for so violent and injurious a grief, you had nothing to answer to God, but only to the world and yourself; yet I very much doubt how you would be acquitted. We bring into the world with us a poor, needy, uncertain life, short at the longest, and unquiet at the best; all the imaginations of the witty and the wise have been perpetually busied to find out the ways how to revive it with pleasures, or relieve it with diversions; how to compose it with ease, and settle it

with safety. To some of these ends have been employed the institutions of lawgivers, the reasonings of philosophers, the inventions of poets, the pains of labouring, and the extravagances of voluptuous men. All the world is perpetually at work about nothing else, but only that our poor mortal lives should pass the easier and happier for that little time we possess them, or else end the better when we lose them. Upon this occasion riches came to be coveted, honours to be esteemed, friendship and love to be pursued, and virtues themselves to be admired in the world. Now, Madam, is it not to bid defiance to all mankind, to condemn their universal opinions and designs, if, instead of passing your life as well and easily, you resolve to pass it as ill and as miserably, as you can? you grow insensible to the conveniencies of riches, the delights of honour and praise, the charms of kindness or friendship, nay to the observance or applause of virtues themselves; for who can you expect, in these excesses of passions, will allow you to shew either temperance or fortitude, to be either prudent or just? and for your friends, I suppose you reckon upon losing their kindness, when you have sufficiently convinced them they can never hope for any of yours, since you have none left for yourself or any thing else. You declare upon all occasions, you are incapable of receiving any comfort or pleasure in any thing that is left in this world; and I assure you, Madam, none can ever love you, that can have no hopes ever to please you.

Among the several enquiries and endeavours after the happiness of life, the sensual men agree in pursuit of every pleasure they can start, without regarding the pains of the chase, the weariness when it ends, or how little the quarry is worth. The busy and ambitious fall into the more lasting pursuits of power and riches; the speculative men pre-

fer tranquillity of mind, before the different motions of passion and appetite, or the common successions of desire and satiety, of pleasure and pain; but this may seem too dull a principle for the happiness of life, which is ever in motion; and though passions are perhaps the stings, without which they say no honey is made; yet I think all sorts of men have ever agreed, they ought to be our servants, and not our masters; to give us some agitation for entertainment or exercise, but never to throw our reason out of its seat. Perhaps I would not always sit still, or would be sometimes on horseback; but I would never ride a horse that galls my flesh, or shakes my bones, or that runs away with me as he pleases, so as I can neither stop at a river or precipice. Better no passions at all, than have them too violent; or such alone as, instead of heightening our pleasures, afford us nothing but vexation and pain.

In all such losses as your Ladyship's has been, there is something that common nature cannot be denied, there is a great deal that good nature may be allowed; but all excessive and outrageous grief or lamentation for the dead was accounted, among the ancient Christians, to have something of heathenish; and among the civil nations of old, to have something of barbarous; and therefore it has been the care of the first to moderate it by their precepts, and the latter to restrain it by their laws. The longest time that has been allowed to the forms of mourning, by the custom of any country, and in any relation, has been but that of a year; in which space the body is commonly supposed to be mouldered away to earth, and to retain no more figure of what it was; but this has been given only to the loss of parents, of husband, or wife. On the other side, to children under age, nothing has been allowed; and I suppose with particular reason (the common ground of all general customs),

perhaps because they die in innocence, and without having tasted the miseries of life, so as we are sure they are well when they leave us, and escape much ill which would in all appearance have befallen them if they had staid longer with us. Besides, a parent may have twenty children, and so his mourning may run through all the best of his life, if his losses are frequent of that kind; and our kindness to children so young is taken to proceed from common opinions, or fond imaginations, not friendship or esteem; and to be grounded upon entertainment rather than use, in the many offices of life: nor would it pass from any person besides your Ladyship, to say you lost a companion and a friend at nine years old, though you lost one indeed, who gave the fairest hopes that could be, of being both in time, and every thing else that was esteemable and good: but yet, that itself, God only knows, considering the changes of humour and disposition, which are as great as those of feature and shape the first sixteen years of our lives, considering the chances of time, the infection of company, the snares of the world, and the passions of youth; so that the most excellent and agreeable creature of that tender age, and that seemed born under the happiest stars, might, by the course of years and accidents, come to be the most miserable herself, and more trouble to her friends by living long, than she could have been by dying young.

Yet after all, Madam, I think your loss so great, and some measure of your grief so deserved, that, would all your passionate complaints, all the anguish of your heart, do any thing to retrieve it; could tears water the lovely plant, so as to make it grow again after once it is cut down; would sighs furnish new breath, or could it draw life and spirits from the wasting of yours; I am sure your friends would be so far from accusing your passion, that they would encourage it as much, and

share it as deep, as they could. But alas! the eternal laws of the creation extinguish all such hopes, forbid all such designs; nature gives us many children and friends to take them away, but takes none away to give them us again. And this makes the excesses of grief to have been so universally condemned as a thing unnatural, because so much in vain; whereas nature, they say, does nothing in vain: as a thing so unreasonable, because so contrary to our own designs; for we all design to be well, and at ease, and by grief we make ourselves ill of imaginary wounds, and raise ourselves troubles most properly out of the dust, whilst our ravings and complaints are but like arrows shot up into the air, at no mark, and so to no purpose, but only to fall back upon our heads, and destroy ourselves, instead of recovering or revenging our friends.

Perhaps, Madam, you will say, this is your design, or, if not, your desire; but I hope you are not yet so far gone, or so desperately bent: your Ladyship knows very well, your life is not your own, but His that lent it you to manage, and preserve the best you could, and not throw it away, as if it came from some common hand. It belongs in a great measure to your country, and your family; and therefore, by all human laws, as well as divine, self-murder has ever been agreed upon as the greatest crime, and is punished here with the utmost shame, which is all that can be inflicted upon the dead. But is the crime much less to kill ourselves by a slow poison, than by a sudden wound? Now, if we do it, and know we do it, by a long and a continual grief, can we think ourselves innocent? What great difference is there if we break our hearts, or consume them; if we pierce them, or bruise them; since all determines in the same death, as all arises from the same despair? But what if it goes not so

far? it is not indeed so bad as might be, but that does not excuse it from being very ill: though I do not kill my neighbour, is it no hurt to wound him, or to spoil him of the conveniencies of life? The greatest crime is for a man to kill himself; is it a small one to wound himself by anguish of heart, by grief, or despair, to ruin his health, to shorten his age, to deprive himself of all the pleasures, or eases, or enjoyments of life?

Next to the mischiefs we do ourselves, are those we do our children and our friends, as those who deserve best of us, or at least deserve no ill. The child you carry about you, what has that done that you should endeavour to deprive it of life almost as soon as you bestow it? or if at the best you suffer it to live to be born, yet, by your ill usage of yourself, should so much impair the strength of its body and health, and perhaps the very temper of its mind, by giving it such an infusion of melancholy as may serve to discolour the objects and disrelish the accidents it may meet with in the common train of life? But this is one you are not yet acquainted with; what will you say to another you are? Were it a small injury to my Lord Capell, to deprive him of a mother, from whose prudence and kindness he may justly expect the cares of his health and education, the forming of his body, and the cultivating of his mind; the seeds of honour and virtue, and thereby the true principles of a happy life? How has my Lord of Essex deserved that you should go about to lose him a wife he loves with so much passion, and, which is more, with so much reason; so great an honour and support to his family, so great a hope to his fortune and comfort to his life? Are there so many left of your own great family, that you should desire in a manner wholly to reduce it, by suffering the greatest and almost last branch

of it to wither away before its time? or is your country in this age so stored with great persons, that you should envy it those we may justly expect from so noble a race?

Whilst I had any hopes your tears would ease you, or that your grief would consume itself by liberty and time, your Ladyship knows very well I never once accused it, nor ever increased it, like many others, by the common formal ways of assuaging it; and this, I am sure, is the first office of this kind I ever went about to perform, otherways than in the most ordinary forms. I was in hope what was so violent could not be so long; but when I observed it to grow stronger with age, and increase like a stream the further it ran; when I saw it draw out to such unhappy consequences, and threaten no less than your child, your health, and your life, I could no longer forbear this endeavour, nor end it without begging of your Ladyship, for God's sake and for your own, for your children and your friends, for your country's and your family's, that you would no longer abandon yourself to so disconsolate a passion, but that you would, at length, awaken your piety, give way to your prudence, or, at least, rouse up the invincible spirit of the Piercies, that never yet shrunk at any disaster; that you would sometimes remember the great honours and fortunes of your family, not always the losses; cherish those veins of good humour that are sometimes so natural to you, and sear up those of ill that would make you so unnatural to your children and to yourself: but, above all, that you would enter upon the cares of your health and your life, for your friends' sake at least, if not for your own. For my part, I know nothing could be to me so great an honour and satisfaction, as if your Ladyship would own me to have contributed towards

this cure; but, however, none can perhaps more justly pretend to your pardon for the attempt, since there is none, I am sure, that has always had at heart a greater honour for your Ladyship's family, nor can have for your person more devotion and esteem, than,

MADAM,

Your Ladyship's most obedient,

And most humble Servant.

HEADS DESIGNED FOR

AN ESSAY

UPON

THE DIFFERENT CONDITIONS

OF

LIFE AND FORTUNE.

WHETHER a good condition with fear of being ill, or an ill with hope of being well, pleases or displeases most.

The good of wisdom, as it most conduces to happiness.

The effect of happiness best discovered by good humour and satisfaction within.

Difference between being satisfied and content.

The value of virtue double, as of coin; one of stamp, which consists in the esteem of it; the other intrinsic, as most contributing to the good of private life and public society.

Against Rochefoucault's reflections upon virtue, "Qu'elle n'ira pas loin, si elle n'est soutenuë par la vanité."

A man's wisdom, his best friend; folly, his worst enemy.

No happiness with great pain; and so all are exposed to small and common accidents.

The sting of a wasp, a fit of the stone, the biting of a mad dog, destroy for the time; the two first, happiness; and the other, wisdom itself.

The only way for a rich man to be healthy is by exercise and abstinence, to live as if he was poor; which are esteemed the worst parts of poverty.

Leisure and solitude the best effect of riches, because mother of thought. Both avoided by most rich men, who seek company and business, which are signs of being weary of themselves.

Business, when loved, but as other diversions, of which this is in most credit. Nothing so prejudicial to the public.

How few busy to good purpose, for themselves or country.

Virgil's morals in
" Hic quibus invisi fratres," &c.
And,
" Hic manus ob patriam," &c.

Solomon's, " Enjoy the good of life, fear God, and keep his commandments."

Horace, in his
" Non es avarus,"
to
" Quid te exempta juvat spinis de pluribus una?"

To mortify mankind in their designs of any transcendent happiness, Solomon's Ecclesiastes, and Marcus Antoninus's Meditations, with Almanzor; the greatest Princes of their times, and greatest men at all times.

The old man near the Hague, that served my house from his dairy, grew so rich that he gave it over; bought a house and furnished it at the Hague, resolving to live at ease the rest of his life; grew so weary of being idle, he sold it, and returned again to his dairy.

If without other fears, yet that of death enough to spoil the greatest enjoyments.

Never to be foreseen——"Quod quisque vitet nunquam homini satis cautum est in horas."

A thinking man can never live well, unless content to die.

It is difficult to love life, and yet be willing to part with it.

The golden sentences at Delphos:—Know thyself. Nothing too much. Fly contention and debt.

"——Quid te tibi reddat amicum."

"El mucho se guasta, yel poco, basta."

Many friends may do one little good; one enemy, much hurt.

In no man's power to avoid enemies; they injure by chance, in a crowd sometimes, and without design; then hate always whom they once injured.

To rich men, the greatest pleasures of sense either grow dull for want of difficulty, or hurt by excess.

The greatest advantages men have by riches are, to give, to build, to plant, and make pleasant scenes, of which, pictures and statues make the pleasantest part.

The greatest Prince, possessed with superstition and fears of death, more unhappy than any private man of common fortune, and well-constituted mind.

A Prince above all desires of more, or fears of change, falls to enjoy the pleasures of leisure and good scenes: for, in those of sense, he can have but his share, in which nature has stinted all men.

To what we are capable of, a common fortune will reach; the rest is but ostentation and vanity, which are below a wise and thinking man.

Who for each fickle fear from virtue shrinks,
Shall in this world enjoy no worthy thing:
No mortal man the cup of surety drinks;
But let us pick our good from out much bad,
That so our little world may know its King.

Sir PHIL. SIDNEY.

Quiry's* philosophy; that, when he could not get off his boots at night, said he knew as good a way; to go to sleep with them on.

Whoever can die easily, may live easily.

The pursuit of wealth by endless care and pains, is grounded but upon the desire of being so much further from want. That of power, place, and honour, but upon the prospect of being so much safer, from the respect it gives; or the having others in our power, instead of our being in theirs.

To take every thing by the right hand, rather than the left, or the best end.

Life have I worn out thrice thirty years,
Some in much joy, many in fears:
Yet never complain'd of cold or heat;
Of winter storms, or summer sweat;
But gently took all that ungently came—

SPENCER.

The last Pope's way of getting the keys: "Nil petere, nil recusare, de nemine conqueri."

How far the temper of mind and body may go towards relief of the worst conditions of fortune.

How little the best accidents, or conditions of fortune, towards the relieving the distempers of body or mind.

The true end of riches (next to doing good), ease and pleasure; the common effect, to increase care and trouble.

* A little Moor that rode postilion.

A man's happiness, all in his own opinion of himself and other things.

A fool happier in thinking well of himself, than a wise man in others thinking well of him.

Any man unhappier, in reproaching himself, if guilty; than in others reproaching him, if innocent.

If a reasonable man satisfy himself, it will satisfy all others that are worth the care of it.

Truth will be uppermost, one time or other, like cork, though kept down in the water.

To take care of the first ill action; which engages one in a course of them, unless owned and repented. It draws on disguise; that, lying, and unjust quarrels.

A shattered reputation, never again entire: honour in a man to be esteemed like that of a woman; once gone, never recovered.

All great and good things in the world brought to pass by care and order.

The end of all wisdom, happiness: in private, of one's own life; in public affairs, of the government.

The difference of both between one man and another; only whether a man governs his passions, or his passions him.

We ought to abstain from those pleasures, which, upon thought we conclude, are likely to end in more trouble or pain, than they begin in joy or pleasure.

Youth naturally most inclined to the better passions; love, desire, ambition, joy. Age to the worst; avarice, grief, revenge, jealousy, envy, suspicion.

As nothing in this world is unmixed, so men should temper these passions one with another; according to what, by age or constitution, they are most subject.

Pride and sufficiency in opinion of one's self, and

scorn in that of others, the great bane of knowledge and life.

One man's reason better than another's, as it is more convincing; else, every man's pretence to right reason alike.

It is hard going round the pole to know what the greatest number of men agree in.

The wisest men easiest to hear advice, least apt to give it.

Men have different ends, according to different tempers; are wise, as they choose ends that will satisfy, and the means to attain them.

Nothing so uncertain as general reputation: a man injures me upon humour, passion, or interest, or standing in his way; hates me because he has injured me; and speaks ill of me because he hates me.

Besides no humour so general, to find fault with others, as the way to value themselves.

A good man ought to be content, if he have nothing to reproach himself.

A restlesness in men's minds to be something they are not, and have something they have not, the root of all immorality.

Coolness of temper and blood, and consequently of desires, the great principle of all virtue.

This equally necessary in moderating good fortune, and bearing ill.

None turned more to philosophy than Solomon and Antoninus, in the most prosperous fortunes.

The violences of Tiberius made more stoics at Rome, than all their schools.

Padre Paolo at seventy years: when the spirits that furnish hopes fail, it is time to live no longer.

The temper of great men should have force of vital spirits, great heat, and yet equality, which are hardly found together.

A humour apt to put great weight upon small

matters, and consequently to make much trouble out of little, is the greatest ingredient to unhappiness of life. The contrary, the greatest to happiness.

The best philosophy, that which is natural to men disposed to succeed in it by their natural tempers, though improved by education, learning, and thought.

Sharpness cuts slight things best; solid, nothing cuts through but weight and strength; the same, in the use of intellectuals.

The two greatest mistakes among mankind are, to measure truth by every man's single reason; and not only to wish every body like one's self, but to believe them so too, and that they are only disguised in what they differ from us. Both the effect of natural self-love.

Men come to despise one another, by reckoning they have all the same ends with him that judges, only proceed foolishly towards them; when indeed their ends are different.

One man will not, for any respect of fortune, lose his liberty so much, as to be obliged to step over a kennel every morning: and yet to please a mistress, save a beloved child, serve his country or friend, will sacrifice all the ease of his life, nay his blood and life too, upon occasion.

Another will do the same for riches.

One will suffer all injuries without resentment, in pursuit of avarice or ambition; another will sacrifice all for revenge.

Pompey fled among the Egyptian slaves to save his life, after the battle of Pharsalia, and lo o f empire, and liberty of Rome. Cæsar chose to die once rather than live in fear of dying. Cato to die, rather than outlive the liberties of his country, or submit to a conqueror.

Atticus preferred the quiet of life before all

riches and power; and never entered into public cares.

Yet these all contemporaries, and the four greatest of Rome.

Mr. H. to me. If a King were so great to have nothing to desire nor fear, he would live just as you do.

Does any thing look more desirable than to be able to go just one's own pace and way? which belong sin the greatest degree to a private life. "Ut mihi vivam quod superest ævi."

A man, in public affairs, is like one at sea; never in his own disposal, but in that of winds and tides.

To be bound for a port one desires extremely, and to sail to it with a fair gale, is very pleasant: but to live always at sea, and upon all adventures, is only for those who cannot live at land.

"Non agimus tumidis velis, Aquilone secundo;
Non tamen adversis ætatem ducimus Austris."

When, after much working, one's head is very well settled, the best is, not to set it a working again. The more and longer it has worked at first perhaps the finer and stronger: but every new working does but trouble and weaken it.

The greatest pleasure of life is love: the greatest treasure is contentment: the greatest possession is health: the greatest ease is sleep: and the greatest medicine is a true friend.

Happiness of life depends much upon natural temper, which turns one's thoughts, either upon good in possession and hopes; or evil in present sense of fears.

This makes the difference between melancholy and sanguine, between old and young, greater than between those placed in any different degree of fortune.

The use of plenty is the abuse of riches: for

unless a rich man will, in some things, live like a poor one, he is not the better for his riches; his life will be the worse, and the shorter.

Every man will be happy; and none, by the constitution of nature, is capable of being so. We are capable of few pleasures; and reason and reflection cut off many of those.

If the sun or moon eclipses; if a comet appear; a man is in pain: if a great storm of thunder or lightning, or violent seasons, or tempests; if any thing touch his life or his fortune; any passion at heart; or if he fears for his soul; he is an unhappy man.

Pride the ground of most passions, and most frenzies.

The design of distinguishing one's self in some kind, general to all men; and from which most troubles arise.

Man is a thinking thing, whether he will or no; all he can do is to turn his thoughts the best way.

Since, in some degree, we must always either hope or fear, we should turn our thoughts upon some design or course of life that will entertain them with some kind of hopes. "Lente in voto." If that cannot be, the next is, to seek diversion from thought, by business, sports, or labour.

After all, life is but a trifle, that should be played with till we lose it; and then it is not worth regretting.

If men are so happy, from nature or fortune, as to have nothing else to complain of, they trouble themselves with the thoughts that they must, or may die.

They take no pleasure in the feast, because it must end.

There is but one general undisputed truth yet agreed on, That whatever lives must die.

Dying is a piece of our nature, as well as living;

therefore if not content with one, we cannot be perfectly so with the other.

Since death is unavoidable, nothing so impertinent as to trouble ourselves about it: but pain is not of so absolute necessity, therefore it is pardonable to endeavour the avoiding it.

The Stoics opinion of pain not being an evil, a mockery unnatural, and a strain of the highest disguise and affectation.

Whether conditions of life and fortune are not in all much alike; at least so, in one great part of our lives: for sleep levels the poor and the rich, the honoured and disgraced, the Prince and the peasant.

"Non domus aut fundi, non æris," &c.

These may entertain or heighten good humour where it is; not raise it where it is not; otherwise it is like music in mourning.

The plant may be improved by seasons and pains, but the root must be in the ground.

The intemperate give themselves no leave to feel hunger, thirst, want of sleep, or any other strong and natural desires, without which, the pleasures of eating, drinking, sleeping, and the rest, are all but weak and faint.

Restlesness of mind is the great cause of intemperance, seeking pleasures when nature does not ask, nor appetite prepare them.

No possessions good, but by the good use we make of them; without which, wealth, power, friends, servants, do but help to make our lives more unhappy.

HEADS DESIGNED FOR

AN

ESSAY ON CONVERSATION.

MEN naturally or generally seek it with others, and avoid it with themselves.

Both are necessary, one gives the stock, the other improves it: one, without the other, unrefined.

Ability is drawn out into use by occasions and accidents.

> "Paulum sepultæ distat inertiæ
> Celata virtus."

Sometimes, in one age, great men are without great occasions; in another, great occasions without great men; and in both, one lost for want of the other.

No man willingly lives without some conversation: delicacy and distinction make men called solitary; those that do upon vows or choice, in danger of some degrees of frenzy, the mind, like the stomach, when empty preying upon itself.

Scipio, of all active and great men the most contemplative, yet open to Lælius and other private friends.

Women and children, some sort of fools and madmen, the greatest talkers.

Men talk without thinking, and think without talking.

Order, the effect of thought, and cause of all good productions.

Silence in company (if not dulness or modesty) is observation or discretion.

To play or wrestle well should be used with those that do it better than you.

A man among children, long a child: a child among men, soon a man.

Nothing keeps a man from being rich, like thinking he has enough; nothing from knowledge and wisdom, like thinking he has both.

Nothing so unreasonable or insufferable in common conversation, as sufficiency.

Measuring all reason by our own, the commonest and greatest weakness; is an encroachment upon the common right of mankind.

Neither general rules, nor general practice, to be found further than notion.

Taste in conversation, from love or friendship, esteem or interest, pleasantness or amusement: the two first engage the first part of our lives; the two second, the middle; and the last the latter end.

Something like home that is not home, like alone that is not alone, to be wished, and only found in a friend, or in his house.

Men that do not think of the present, will be thinking of the past or future: therefore business or conversation is necessary to fix their thoughts on the present.

In the rest, seldom satisfaction, often discontent and trouble, unless to very sanguine humours.

The same in general speculations: witness Solomon and Antoninus; for whose thoughts are not lost in the immensity of matter, the infinity of forms, the variety of productions, and continual vicissitude or change of one to the other.

In conversation, humour is more than wit, easiness more than knowledge; few desire to learn, or think they need it; all desire to be pleased, or, if not, to be easy.

A fool may say many wise things, a wise man no foolish ones: good sense runs throughout.

Mr. Grantam's fool's reply to a great man that asked whose fool he was? "I am Mr. Grantam's fool: pray whose fool are you?"

Sudden replies esteemed the best and pleasantest veins of wit; not always so of good sense.

Of all passions, none so soon and so often turns the brain as pride.

A little vein of folly or whim, pleasant in conversation; because it gives a liberty of saying things, that discreet men, though they will not say, are willing to hear.

The first ingredient in conversation is truth, the next good sense, the third good humour, and the fourth wit.

This last was formerly left to fools and buffoons kept in all great families.

Henry IV. of France, and King James I. of England, first gave repute to that sort of wit; increased by King Charles II.

In King Charles the First's time, all wit, love, and honour, heightened by the wits of that time into romance.

Lord Goreign took the contrepied, and turned all into ridicule.

He was followed by the Duke of Buckingham, and that vein favoured by King Charles II. brought it in vogue.

Truth is allowed the most esteemable quality: the lie is the greatest reproach; therefore allowed formerly a just occasion of combat by law, and since that time, by honour, in private duels.

Good breeding as necessary a quality in conversation to accomplish all the rest, as grace in motion and dancing.

It is harder, in that, to dance a corrant well than a jig: so in conversation, even, easy, and agreeable, more than points of wit; which, unless very naturally they fall in of themselves, and not too

often, are disliked in good company; because they pretend to more than the rest, and turn conversation from good sense to wit, from pleasant to ridicule, which are the meaner parts.

To make others wit appear more than one's own, a good rule in conversation: a necessary one, to let others take notice of your wit, and never do it yourself.

Flattery, like poison, requires of all others the finest infusion.

Of all things the most nauseous, the most shocking and hardest to bear.

King James I. used to say, "Nay, by my soul, that is too hard."

Pride and roughness may turn one's humour, but flattery turns one's stomach.

Both extremes to be avoided: if we must lean one way, better to bluntness and coldness, which is most natural, than to flattery, which is artificial.

This is learned in the slavery of Courts, or ill fortune; the other in the freedom of the country and a fortune one is content with.

Nothing so nauseous as undistinguished civility; it is like a whore, or an hostess, who looks kindly upon every body that comes in.

It is fit only for such persons of quality as have no other way to draw company, and draws only such as are not welcome any where else.

Court conversation, without love or business, of all the other the most tasteless.

A Court, properly a fair, the end of it trade and gain: for none would come to be justled in a crowd, that is easy at home, nor go to service, that thinks he has enough to live well of himself.

Those that come to either for entertainment, are the dupes of the traders, or, at least, the raillery.

All the skill of a Court is to follow the Prince's present humour, talk the present language, serve

the present turn, and make use of the present interest of one's friends.

Bluntness and plainness in a Court, the most refined breeding.

Like something in a dress that looks neglected, and yet is very exact.

When I consider how many noble and esteemable men, how many lovely and agreeable women, I have outlived among my acquaintance and friends, methinks it looks impertinent to be still alive.

Changes in veins of wit, like those of habits, or other modes.

Upon King Charles the Second's return, none more out of fashion among the new courtiers than the old Earl of Norwich, that was esteemed the greatest wit in his father's time, among the old.

Our thoughts are expressed by speech, our passions and motions as well without it.

Telling our griefs lessens them, and doubles our joys.

To hate company unnatural, or to be always silent in it.

Sociable, a quality ascribed to mankind.

Yet hatred, or distaste, brought Timon to live alone, and the shipwrecked men in an island of the Indies.

It is very different to live in little company, or in none.

Proper for age to retire, as for youth to produce itself in the world.

One shews merit, or the hopes that they may one day have it; the other has none, they never can.

Proper for one to shew excellencies in any kind; for the other to hide their defaults.

It is not to live, to be hid all one's life; but, if one has been abroad all day, one may be allowed to go home upon any great change of weather or company.

Nothing so useful as well chosen conversation, or so pernicious as ill.

There may be too much as well as too little.

Solitude damps thought and wit; too much company dissipates and hinders it from fixing.

In retreat a man feels more how life passes; if he likes it, is the happier; if he dislikes it, the more miserable, and ought to change for company, business, or entertainments, which keep a man from his own thoughts and reflections.

Study gives strength to the mind; conversation, grace: the first apt to give stiffness, the other suppleness: one gives substance and form to the statue, the other polishes it.

The great happiness is to have a friend to observe and tell one of one's faults, whom one has reason to esteem, and is apt to believe.

The great miscarriages of life come from the want of a good pilot, or from a sufficiency to follow one's own course or humour.

Sometimes out of pride to contradict others, or shew one needs no instruction.

Do nothing to lose common reputation, which is the best possession of life, especially that of honour and truth.

Roughness or authority in giving counsel, easiness to receive all, or obstinacy to receive none, equally to be avoided.

Too much delicacy in one or the other, of ill effect.

Mark what makes other men esteemed, and imitate; what disesteemed, and avoid it.

Many very learned and able, without being agreeable; more the contrary.

Company to be avoided, that are good for nothing; to be sought and frequented, that excel in some quality or other.

Of all excellencies that make conversation, good

sense and good nature the most necessary, humour the pleasantest.

To submit blindly to none, to preserve the liberty of one's own reason, to dispute for instruction, not victory, and yield to reason as soon as it appears to us, from whence soever it comes.

This is to be found in all conditions and degrees of men, in a farmer or miller sometimes, as well as a lawyer or divine, among the learned and the great; though their reputation or manner often imposes on us.

The best rules to form a young man: to talk little, to hear much, to reflect alone upon what has passed in company, to distrust one's own opinions, and value others that deserve it.

The chief ingredients into the composition of those qualities that gain esteem and praise, are good nature, truth, good sense, and good breeding.

Good nature is seen in a disposition to say and do what one thinks will please or profit others.

Good breeding in doing nothing one thinks will either hurt or displease them.

Good nature and good sense come from our births or tempers: good breeding and truth, chiefly by education and converse with men. Yet truth seems much in one's blood, and is gained too by good sense and reflection; that nothing is a greater possession, nor of more advantage to those that have it, as well as those that deal with it.

Offensive and undistinguished raillery comes from ill nature, and desire of harm to others, though without good to one's self; or vanity and a desire of valuing ourselves, by shewing others faults and follies, and the comparison with ourselves, as free from them.

This vein in the world was originally railing; but, because that would not pass without return of blows, men of more wit than courage brought in

this refinement, more dangerous to others, and less to themselves.

Charles Brandon's motto at a tournament, upon his marriage with the Queen; the trappings of his horse being half cloth of gold, and the other half frize:

Cloth of gold, do not despise,
Though thou art match'd with cloth of frize.
Cloth of frize, be not too bold,
Though thou art match'd with cloth of gold.

POEMS AND TRANSLATIONS.

VIRGIL'S LAST ECLOGUE.

ONE labour more, O Arethusa, yield,
Before I leave the shepherds and the field:
Some verses to my Gallus ere we part,
Such as may one day break Lycoris' heart,
As she did his. Who can refuse a song,
To one that lov'd so well, and died so young!
So mayst thou thy belov'd Alpheüs please,
When thou creep'st under the Sicanian seas.
Begin, and sing Gallus' unhappy fires,
Whilst yonder goat to yonder branch aspires
Out of his reach. We sing not to the deaf;
An answer comes from ev'ry trembling leaf.
What woods, what forests had entic'd your stay,
Ye Naiades, why came ye not away
When Gallus died by an unworthy flame?
Parnassus knew, and lov'd too well, his name,
To stop your course; nor could your hasty flight
Be staid by Pindus, which was his delight.
Him the fresh laurels, him the lowly heath,
Bewail'd with dewy tears; his parting breath
Made lofty Mænalus hang his piny head;
Lycæan marbles wept, when he was dead.
Under a lonely tree he lay and pin'd,
His flock about him feeding on the wind,
As he on love; such kind and gentle sheep
The fair Adonis would be proud to keep.
There came the shepherds, there the weary hinds,
Thither Menalcas, parch'd with frost and winds;
All ask'd him whence, for whom, this fatal love:
Apollo came, his arts and herbs to prove.
Why, Gallus? why so fond? he says; thy flame,
Thy care, Lycoris, is another's game;
For him she sighs and raves, him she pursues,
Through mid-day's heats, and through the morning dews;
Over the snowy cliffs, and frozen streams,
Through noisy camps. Up, Gallus, leave thy dreams:

She has left thee. Still lay the drooping swain,
Hanging his mourning head: Phœbus in vain
Offers his herbs, employs his counsel here;
'Tis all refus'd, or answer'd with a tear.
What shakes the branches! what makes all the trees
Begin to bow their heads, the goats their knees!
Oh! 'tis Sylvanus, with his mossy beard
And leafy crown, attended by a herd
Of wood-born Satyrs; see! he shakes his spear,
A green young oak, the tallest of the year.
Pan, the Arcadian god, forsook the plains,
Mov'd with the story of his Gallus' pains.
We saw him come, with oaten-pipe in hand,
Painted with berries-juice; we saw him stand
And gaze upon his shepherd's bathing eyes;
And, What no end, no end of grief! he cries.
Love little minds all thy consuming care,
Or restless thoughts; they are his daily fare.
Nor cruel love with tears, nor grass with show'rs,
Nor goats with tender sprouts, nor bees with flow'rs,
Are ever satisfy'd. So said the god,
And touch'd the shepherd with his hazel rod:
He, sorrow-slain, seem'd to revive, and said,
But yet, Arcadians, is my grief allay'd,
To think, that in these woods, and hills, and plains,
When I am silent in the grave, your swains
Shall sing my loves, Arcadian swains inspir'd
By Phœbus; Oh! how gently shall these tir'd
And fainting limbs repose in endless sleep,
Whilst your sweet notes my love immortal keep!
Would it had pleas'd the Gods, I had been born
Just one of you, and taught to wind a horn,
Or wield a hook, or prune a branching vine,
And known no other love, but, Phillis, thine;
Or thine, Amintas; what though both are brown?
So are the nuts and berries on the down.
Amongst the vines, the willows, and the springs,
Phillis makes garlands, and Amintas sings.
No cruel absence calls my love away,
Farther than bleating sheep can go astray.
Here, my Lycoris, here are shady groves,
Here fountains cool, and meadows soft; our loves
And lives may here, together, wear and end:
O the true joys of such a fate and friend!
I now am hurried, by severe commands,
To eastern regions, and among the bands
Of armed troops; there, by my foes pursu'd,
Here, by my friends; but still by love subdu'd,

Thou, far from home and me, art wand'ring o'er
The Alpine snows; the farthest western shore,
The frozen Rhine. When are we like to meet;
Ah gently, gently, lest thy tender feet
Be cut with ice. Cover thy lovely arms;
The northern cold relents not at their charms:
Away I'll go, into some shady bow'rs,
And sing the songs I made in happy hours;
And charm my woes. How can I better chuse,
Than among wildest woods myself to lose,
And carve our loves upon the tender trees?
There they will thrive: see, how my love agrees
With the young plants: look how they grow together,
In spite of absence, and in spite of weather.
Mean time, I'll climb that rock, and ramble o'er
Yon woody hill; I'll chase the grizly boar.
I'll find Diana's, and her nymphs' resort;
No frosts, no storms, shall slack my eager sport.
Methinks I'm wand'ring all about the rocks,
And hollow sounding woods: look how my locks
Are torn with boughs and thorns! my shafts are gone,
My legs are tir'd, and all my sport is done.
Alas! this is no cure for my disease;
Nor can our toils that cruel God appease.
Now neither nymphs, nor songs, can please me more,
Nor hollow woods, nor yet the chased boar:
No sport, no labour can divert my grief:
Without Lycoris there is no relief.
Though I should drink up Heber's icy streams,
Or Scythian snows, yet still her fiery beams
Would scorch me up. Whatever we can prove,
Love conquers all, and we must yield to love.

HORACE, Lib. iv. Ode 7.

The snows are melted all away,
The fields grow flow'ry, green, and gay,
The trees put on their tender leaves;
And all the streams, that went astray,
The brook again into her bed receives.

See! the whole earth has made a change:
The nymphs and graces naked range
About the fields, who shrunk before
Into their caves. The empty grange
Prepares its room for a new summer's store.

Lest thou shouldst hope immortal things,
The changing year instruction brings,
The fleeting hour, that steals away
The beggar's time, and life of Kings,
But ne'er returns them, as it does the day.

The cold grows soft with western gales,
The Summer over Spring prevails,
But yields to Autumn's fruitful rain,
As this to Winter storms and hails;
Each loss the hasting moons repair again.

But we, when once our race is done,
With Tullus, and Anchises' son,
(Though rich like one, like t' other good)
To dust and shades, without a sun,
Descend, and sink in deep oblivion's flood.

Who knows, if the kind gods will give
Another day to men that live
In hope of many distant years;
Or if one night more shall retrieve
The joys thou losest by thy idle fears?

The pleasant hours thou spend'st in health,
The use thou mak'st of youth and wealth,
As what thou giv'st among thy friends
Escapes thy heirs, so those the stealth
Of time and death, where good and evil ends.

For when that comes, nor birth, nor fame,
Nor piety, nor honest name,
Can e'er restore thee. Theseus bold,
Nor chaste Hippolitus could tame
Devouring fate, that spares nor young nor old.

HORACE, Lib. i. Ode 13.

When thou commend'st the lovely eyes
Of Telephus, that for thee dies,
His arms of wax, his neck, or hair;
Oh! how my heart begins to beat,
My spleen is swell'd with gall and heat,
And all my hopes are turn'd into despair.

Then both my mind and colour change,
My jealous thoughts about me range,
In twenty shapes; my eyes begin,
Like winter-springs, apace to fill;
The stealing drops, as from a still,
Fall down, and tell what fires I feel within.

When his reproaches make thee cry,
And thy fresh cheeks with paleness die,
I burn, to think you will be friends:
When his rough hand thy bosom strips,
Or his fierce kisses tear thy lips,
I die, to see how all such quarrel ends.

Ah! never hope a youth to hold,
So haughty, and in love so bold;
What can him tame in anger keep?
Whom all this fondness can't asswage,
Who even kisses turns to rage,
Which Venus does in her own nectar steep.

Thrice happy they, whose gentle hearts,
Till death itself their union parts,
An undisturbed kindness holds,
Without complaints or jealous fears,
Without reproach or spited tears,
Which damps the kindest heats with sudden colds.

UPON THE

APPROACH OF THE SHORE AT HARWICH,

In January, 1668.—*Begun under the Mast.*

Welcome, the fairest and the happiest earth,
Seat of my hopes and pleasures, as my birth;
Mother of well-born souls, and fearless hearts,
In arms renown'd, and flourishing in arts;
The island of good-nature, and good cheer,
That elsewhere only pass, inhabit here:
Region of valour, and of beauty too;
Which shews, the brave are only fit to woo.
No child thou hast, ever approach'd thy shore,
That lov'd thee better, or esteem'd thee more.
Beaten with journeys, both of land and seas,
Weary'd with care, the busy man's disease;
Pinch'd with the frost, and parched with the wind;
Giddy with rolling, and with fasting pin'd;
Spited and vex'd, that winds, and tides, and sands,
Should all conspire to cross such great commands,
As haste me home, with an account, that brings
The doom of kingdoms to the best of Kings:

Yet I respire at thy reviving sight,
Welcome as health, and cheerful as the light.
How I forget my anguish and my toils,
Charm'd at th' approach of thy delightful soils!
How, like a mother, thou hold'st out thy arms,
To save thy children from pursuing harms,
And open'st thy kind bosom, where they find
Safety from waves, and shelter from the wind:
Thy cliffs so stately, and so green thy hills,
This with respect, with hope the other fills
All that approach thee; who believe they find
A spring for winter, that they left behind.
Thy sweet inclosures, and thy scatter'd farms,
Shew thy secureness from thy neighbour's harms;
Their sheep in houses, and their men in towns,
Sleep only safe; thine rove about their downs,
And hills, and groves, and plains, and know no fear
Of foes, or wolves, or cold throughout the year.
Their vast and frightful woods seem only made
To cover cruel deeds, and give a shade
To savage beasts, who on the weaker prey,
Or human savages more wild than they.
Thy pleasant thickets, and thy shady groves,
Only relieve the heats, and cover loves,
Shelt'ring no other thefts or cruelties,
But those of killing or beguiling eyes.
Their famish'd hinds, by cruel Lords enslav'd,
Ruin'd by taxes, and by soldiers brav'd,
Know no more ease than just what sleep can give;
Have no more heat and courage but to live:
Thy brawny clowns, and sturdy seamen, fed
With manly food that their own fields have bred,
Safe in their laws, and easy in their rent,
Bless'd in their King, and in their State content;
When they are call'd away from herd and plough
To arms, will make all foreign forces bow,
And shew how much a lawful Monarch saves,
When twenty subjects beat an hundred slaves.
Fortunate island! if thou didst but know
How much thou dost to Heav'n and Nature owe!
And if thy humour were as good, as great
Thy forces, and as bless'd thy soil as seat:
But then with numbers thou wouldst be o'er-run:
Strangers, to breathe thy air, their own would shun;
And of thy children none abroad would roam,
But for the pleasure of returning home.
Come, and embrace us in thy saving arms,
Command the waves to cease their rough alarms,

And guard us to thy port that we may see
Thou art indeed the Empress of the sea.
So may thy ships about the ocean course,
And still increase in number and in force.
So may no storms ever infest thy shores,
But all the winds that blow increase thy stores.
May never more contagious air arise
To close so many of thy children's eyes:
But all about thee health and plenty vie,
Which shall seem kindest to thee, earth or sky.
May no more fires be seen among the towns,
But charitable beacons on thy downs,
Or else victorious bonfires in thy streets,
Kindled by winds that blow from off thy fleets.
Mayst thou feel no more fits of factious rage,
But all distempers may thy Charles assuage,
With such a well-turn'd concord of his state,
As none but ill, and hated men, may hate.
And mayst thou from him endless Monarchs see,
Whom thou mayst honour, who may honour thee.
May they be wise and good: thy happy seat
And stores will never fail to make them great.

HORACE, Lib. iii. Ode 29.

I.

Mecænas, offspring of Tyrrhenian kings,
And worthy of the greatest empire's sway,
Unbend thy working mind a while, and play
With softer thoughts, and looser strings;
Hard iron, ever wearing, will decay.

II.

A piece untouch'd of old and noble wine
Attends thee here; soft essence for thy hair,
Of purple violets made, or lilies fair;
The roses hang their heads and pine,
And, till you come, in vain perfume the air.

III.

Be not inveigled by the gloomy shades
Of Tiber, nor cool Anien's crystal streams;
The sun is yet but young, his gentle beams
Revive, and scorch not up the blades.
The Spring, like virtue, dwells between extremes.

IV.

Leave fulsome plenty for a while, and come
From stately palaces that tow'r so high,
And spread so far; the dust and bus'ness fly,
The smoke and noise of mighty Rome,
And cares, that on embroider'd carpets lie.

V.

It is vicissitude that pleasure yields
To men, with greatest wealth and honours blest;
And sometimes homely fare, but cleanly drest,
In country farms, or pleasant fields,
Clears up a cloudy brow, and thoughtful breast.

VI.

Now the cold winds have blown themselves away,
The frosts are melted into pearly dews;
The chirping birds each morning tell the news
Of cheerful spring and welcome day,
The tender lambs follow the bleating ewes.

VII.

The vernal bloom adorns the fruitful trees
With various dress; the soft and gentle rains
Begin with flowers t' enamel all the plains;
The turtle with her mate agrees;
And wanton nymphs with their enamour'd swains.

VIII.

Thou art contriving in thy mind, what state
And form becomes that mighty city best:
Thy busy head can take no gentle rest,
For thinking on th' events and fate
Of factious rage, which has her long oppress.

IX.

Thy cares extend to the remotest shores
Of her vast empire; how the Persian arms;
Whether the Bactrians join their troops; what harms
From the Cantabrians and the Moors
May come, or the tumultuous German swarms.

X.

But the wise Pow'rs above that all things know,
In sable night have hid th' events, and train
Of future things; and with a just disdain
Laugh, when poor mortals here below
Fear without cause, and break their sleeps in vain.

XI.

Think how the present thou mayst best compose
With equal mind, and without endless cares;
For the unequal course of state affairs,
Like to the ocean, ebbs and flows,
Or rather like our neighbouring Tiber fares.

XII.

Now smooth and gentle through her channel creeps,
With soft and easy murmurs purling down:
Now swells and rages, threat'ning all to drown,
Away both corn and cattle sweeps,
And fills with noise and horror fields and town.

XIII.

After a while, grown calm, retreats again
Into her sandy bed, and softly glides.
So Jove sometimes in fiery chariot rides
With cracks of thunder, storms of rain,
Then grows serene, and all our fears derides.

XIV.

He only lives content, and his own man,
Or rather master, who, each night, can say,
'Tis well, thanks to the Gods, I've liv'd to-day;
This is my own, this never can,
Like other goods, be forc'd or stol'n away.

XV.

And for to-morrow let me weep or laugh,
Let the sun shine, or storms or tempests ring,
Yet 'tis not in the pow'r of fates, a thing
Should ne'er have been, or not be safe,
Which flying time has cover'd with her wing.

XVI.

Capricious fortune plays a scornful game
With human things; uncertain as the wind;
Sometimes to thee, sometimes to me is kind:
Throws about honours, wealth, and fame,
At random, heedless, humorous, and blind.

XVII.

He 's wise, who, when she smiles, the good enjoys,
And unallay'd with fears of future ill;
But, if she frowns, e'en let her have her will.
I can with ease resign the toys,
And lie wrapp'd up in my own virtue still.

XVIII.

I'll make my court to honest poverty,
An easy wife, although without a dower:
What nature asks will yet be in my power;
For without pride or luxury
How little serves to pass the fleeting hour?

XIX.

'Tis not for me, when winds and billows rise,
And crack the mast, and mock the seamen's cares,
To fall to poor and mercenary prayers,
For fear the Tyrian merchandise
Should all be lost, and not enrich my heirs.

XX.

I 'll rather leap into the little boat,
Which without flutt'ring sails shall waft me o'er
The swelling waves, and then I'll think no more
Of ship, or fraught: but change my note,
And thank the Gods that I am safe a-shore.

HORACE.

Non domus et fundus, non æris acervus, & auri.

Nor house nor lands, nor heaps of plate or gold,
Can cure a fever's heat, or ague's cold,
Much less a mind with grief or care oppress'd:
No man's possessions e'er can make him bless'd,
That is not well himself, and sound at heart;
Nature will ever be too strong for art.
Whoever feeds vain hopes, or fond desires,
Distracting fears, wild love, or jealous fires;
Is pleas'd with all his fortunes, like sore eyes
With curious pictures; gouty legs and thighs
With dancing; or half-dead and aking ears
With music, while the noise he hardly hears.
For if the cask remains unsound or sour,
Be the wine ne'er so rich, or sweet, you pour,
'Twill take the vessel's taste, and lose its own,
And all you fill were better let alone.

TIBULLUS, Lib. iv. El. 2.

To worship thee, O mighty Mars, upon
Thy sacred calends is Sulpitia gone?
If thou art wise, leave the celestial sphere,
And for a while come down to see her here:
Venus will pardon; but take heed her charms
Make thee not, gazing, soon let fall thy arms:
When Love would set the Gods on fire, he flies
To light his torches at her sparkling eyes.
Whate'er Sulpitia does, where'er she goes,
The Graces all her motions still compose:
How her hair charms us when it loosely falls,
Comb'd back and ty'd our veneration calls;
If she comes out in scarlet, how she turns
Us all to ashes; though in white, she burns.
Vertumnus so a thousand dresses wears,
So, in a thousand, ev'ry grace appears:
Of all the virgins, she deserves alone
In Tyrian purple to adorn a throne;
She, to possess, and reap the spicy fields,
Gather the gums that rich Arabia yields;

She, all the orient pearls, that grow in shells,
Along the shores where the tann'd Indian dwells.
For her, the Muses tune their charming lays,
For her, upon his harp Apollo plays:
May she this feast for many years adore;
None can become, deserve an altar more.

END OF VOL. III.

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C.S.

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